

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

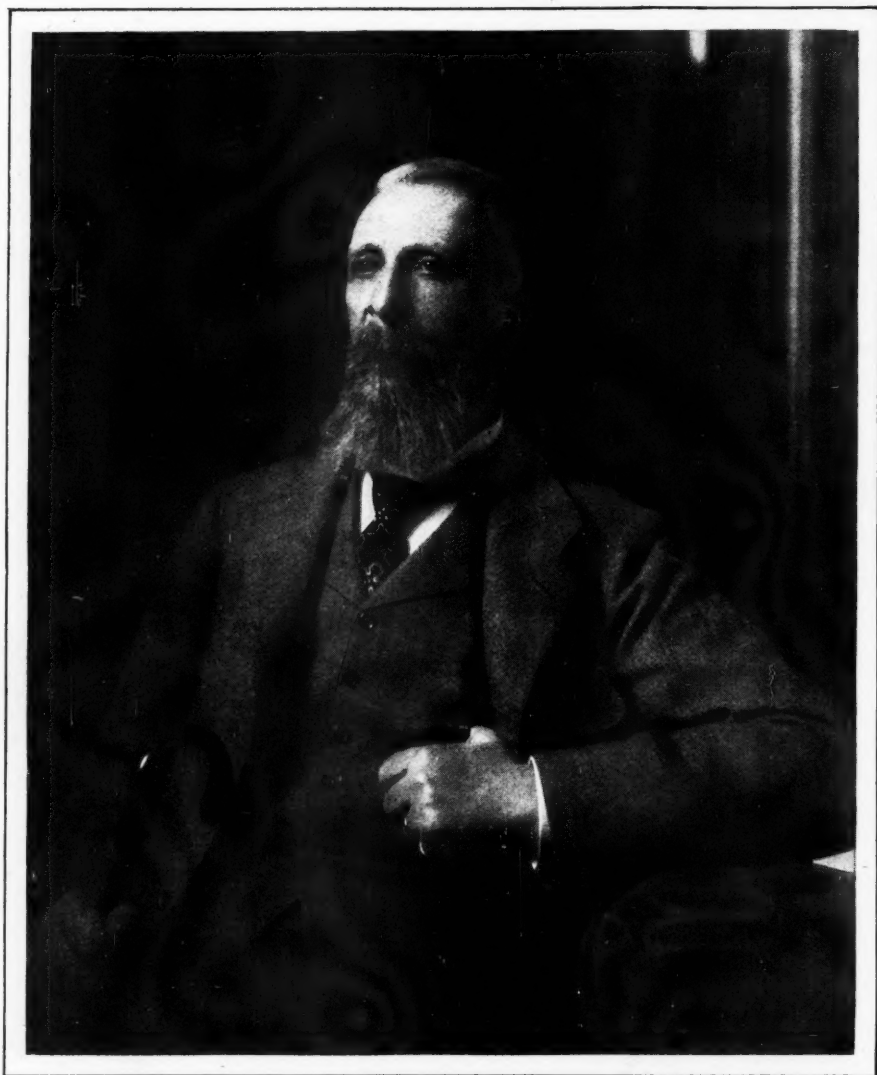
EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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Photograph by the Campbell Studio, N. Y.

COUNT ALBERT APPONYI, THE ILLUSTRIOUS HUNGARIAN ADVOCATE OF UNIVERSAL PEACE

Author, statesman, patriot, jurist, member of the Hungarian House of Commons for forty years, leader of the Hungarian Independent party, and at present Royal Hungarian Minister of Public Education, Count Albert Apponyi has had a most distinguished career. Last month he paid a visit to the United States for the purpose of conveying to the "peace lovers of the new world a message from the old world enemies of war." On February 9 the unusual spectacle was witnessed in the House of Representatives of Count Apponyi standing, by special invitation, in Speaker Cannon's rostrum and addressing the lower House of Congress. "Since," said Count Apponyi, in his address in New York later, "America is a safeguard against reaction anywhere and a practical demonstration of the power of democracy, America is, or is to be, at least, one of the most powerful agents for the promotion of the idea of universal peace."

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

"Patronage" and "Prestige" At Washington last month, whatever might have been said for public consumption, the real question behind the scenes was that of the relation of the executive power to the legislative. There is no ruler on earth possessing anything like the vast and unrestrained power of the President of the United States. It is true that under the rules of the House, even as recently modified, the power of the Speaker is very great. But in the end a determined and masterful President, other things being equal, can break down the resistance of a Speaker. The use of the President's power to hurt or to help can whip many a necessitous legislator into line. "Prestige" and "patronage" are terrible forces when used in a ruthless way.

How the Thing Works A Senator or a Representative in Congress likes to feel that his oath of office is an important thing, and that he is free to consider legislative questions upon their merit. He prefers to have business done with some regard for deliberative processes. But under our system as it really works, a Senator or a Representative is almost absolutely compelled to maintain at least the semblance of cordial relations with the White House and the administrative heads of departments. Members of the law-making bodies are naturally sensitive about their prestige. Not only is life harder for them in Washington when they are put under the ban of White House disfavor, but their position in their respective States or Congressional districts may also suffer. To every Congressman there are endless questions coming from home by every mail that have to be referred to some branch of the federal administration. If your Senator or your Representative is blacklisted at the White House or in a Department, there

are a hundred ways in which either you or some of your fellow-citizens may be put at seeming disadvantage when you desire consideration at the hands of some one connected with the Administration.

The Patronage Game Every Congressman and every Senator must give a good deal of his time and attention to the filling of vacancies in important post offices, to the appointment of custom-house officers, United States district attorneys, United States marshals, and a variety of other officers. It is not easy for a self-respecting member of either branch of Congress who is obliged to call at the White House,—or at the Post-Office Department on necessary business, perhaps relating to the appointment of postmasters in his district,—to submit to the ordeal of being confronted with the question: How are you going to vote on such and such a bill? Or that other question, relative to the next national convention. Every such Congressman or Senator knows very well that for a President to swing the patronage club over his head, and to hold up his post-office appointments with the frank purpose of coercing him into a certain position on matters pending in Congress, is an affront to his personal and official dignity and is a violation of the spirit of the Constitution. These are the things they say privately.

The "Steam-Roller" and the "Lame Ducks" When there has been a mid-term Congressional election that goes against the party in power, thus retiring from office a great many Congressmen and Senators, the last acts of a collapsing and discredited majority in Congress must always bear close watching. These are days and hours that tempt an Administration to resort to the "jamming" process. Unless men in executive power are exceptionally

cool-headed, they lose their judgment in their determination to have their own way. The opportunities for effective use of the patronage club in these closing hours become greatly increased. There are always Senators and Congressmen who have lost their seats but who wish to serve the public for a salary in an appointive office; and they are put in a hard place. The Administration is also put in a position of dire temptation and real danger. Let us say that the Administration particularly desires to pass certain measures. It has made itself believe that it alone is wise as respects what are good measures; and it holds Congress in contempt and detestation. It convinces itself that public opinion would support such enactments as the Administration desires, and that the press is ready to applaud the President for "steam-rolling" these measures through.

*A Scheme of
Rewards and
Punishments*

But how can they be "jammed through"? One way is to appeal frankly to the country, and allow the matter to rest at that point. If the public opinion of a given State or Congressional district is strongly in favor of a proposed measure, the Senator or Representative concerned will not fail to know the views of his constituents. Another method is for the Administration itself to become the most brazen of lobbyists; to count noses in the United States Senate on a pending measure; and then to send for one Senator after another in order to find out what he wants most or what he needs most. This system of rewards and punishments can be elaborated in the hands of those who learn how to use it, until it becomes not merely an offensive thing, but a veritable tyranny. This, to be perfectly frank about it, is the principal reason why no President of the United States ought to be given a second consecutive term. Each administration convinces itself that it has great unfinished duties and obligations to the public, requiring it to continue in office four years longer. Whereupon it proceeds to build up its political power in every direction, with a view to self-perpetuation.

*The Knox
Agreement
with Canada*

Secretary Knox, in our opinion, has done a most creditable piece of work in negotiating and bringing to a conclusion the reciprocity treaty with Canada. This magazine has for twenty years been pointing out the benefits that would result from close trade relations with our neighbor on the north, and will not withhold praise for honest endeavor toward such

ends. It does not follow, however, that this important agreement,—affecting tariff rates at many points and bearing a relationship to the whole fiscal and economic policy of the United States,—ought to have been jammed through Congress without opportunity for thorough discussion. There were strong and sincere members of the House of Representatives who favored the idea of reciprocity with Canada, yet who deeply resented the methods used by President Taft to force this measure to a vote, allowing no real debate, making use of the entire support of the Democratic half of the House, and securing the votes of less than half of the members of his own party. Furthermore, there were many Republican Senators equally disturbed by these methods of virtual coercion from the White House. Senators like Mr. Cummins of Iowa have for many years and with great ability advocated close trade relations with Canada. Such Senators have a right to be heard at length upon the provisions in detail of this particular bill, which must be regarded as part and parcel of our tariff system as a whole, and which has no immediate urgency.

*Mr. Taft
and the
Tariff*

It is now nearly two years since the inauguration of President Taft, and his first act of importance was to call the newly elected Sixty-first Congress together in special session to revise the tariff. During the campaign, in 1908, Mr. Taft had allowed it to be known that he was in favor of a real and significant revision. It was to have been expected that he would express strong views and opinions as to the broad

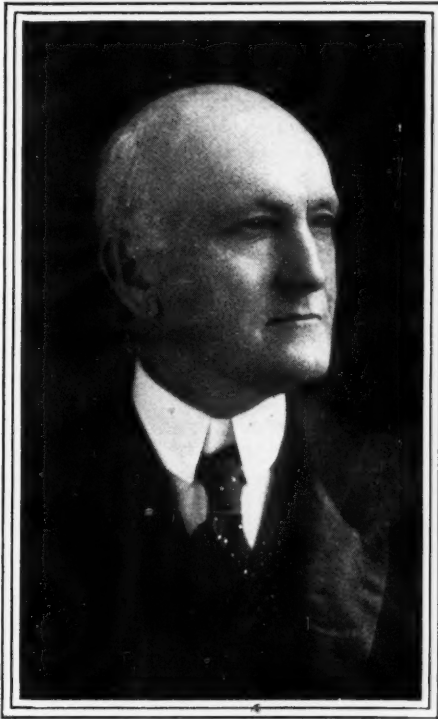


HOW TAFT MAKES SUGGESTIONS THAT CONGRESS SHOULD "GET BUSY"!
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)

lines of a tariff measure. But he assumed no active relation to the work of that special session, and gave no attention to the chief features of the bill,—as every one well remembers,—until almost everything had been done beyond the hope of any fundamental change, and the last details were being settled in conference committee. Mr. Taft then aroused himself, and it was intimated that the bill might be vetoed unless certain items looking like tariff reform could be agreed upon. A magnificent fight was waged by Senator Cummins and others, including the late Senator Dolliver, in favor of a marked revision of the textile schedules. An equally vigorous fight was waged by Senator Beveridge and others in favor of a tariff commission as a means of securing businesslike treatment of tariff questions in future. Cordial and intelligent support from the White House while these great debates were going on in the Senate might have put the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill in a very different shape. But, alas, it was not forthcoming.

*As Chief
Sponsor for
the Payne-
Aldrich Bill*

After the bill was passed, Mr. Taft became its one great, ardent sponsor. Mr. Payne, of the House, as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, knew very well that the bill had been shaped by a vast coalition of locality preferences and special interests; and that a different kind of tariff bill could not have been made unless some strong influence, representing the country as a whole, should be thrown into the balance. Here was the opportunity for a President, who had been elected on the promise of helping to secure a real tariff revision. Mr. Payne and Senator Aldrich would have been put in a position to make a much better Republican tariff if Administration pressure, voicing disinterested public opinion, could have helped them to withstand the pressure of local and private interests. But such help was not extended, and Mr. Payne did his best without it. Mr. Taft became the champion, not simply of the accepted Republican doctrine of protection, but of the Payne-Aldrich tariff as a whole. And it was this championship,—together with Mr. Taft's attempt to drive a number of leading Western tariff-reform Senators out of the party as heretics,—that broke the party down in the Congressional elections of 1910. The tariff commission could easily have been created as part of the work of the extra session of 1909, if the President had helped. Mr. Taft is in favor of it now; but the country has given the Democrats a mandate to try their hand at the tariff in a different way.



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington
CONGRESSMAN SAMUEL W. M'CALL, OF MASSACHUSETTS
(Who led the fight for approval of the reciprocity agreement, and jammed it through the House on Feb. 14, without opportunity for amendment or debate)

*Free Paper
for the
Newspapers*

It is freely said among public men at Washington that the great urgency for adopting the present Canadian reciprocity measure is due to the section which is going to give the newspapers free paper and pulp. It is true enough that a good deal of the newspaper support of this measure just now is due to the fact that the publishers have long wanted to get free access to the paper-making materials of the Canadian forests. They worked very hard, at Washington, and in the Payne-Aldrich tariff they got a good deal of concession on the mechanical pulp from which "news print," so called, is made. It is a curious and significant fact that the Payne-Aldrich tariff made no concessions in favor of the chemically treated pulp, out of which is made the paper that magazines and books must use. There was no proper reason, in the nature of things, for this discrimination against magazines. The newspapers exerted very powerful and consistent pressure and gained something. The general provisions for free paper and pulp that had been asked for did not appear in the Payne tariff.

High Tariff
on
Magazine Paper

Now comes the reciprocity treaty, which so completely pleases the metropolitan press by reason of its section providing for free paper and pulp. Before discussing that section any further, we ask our readers to note the exact terms of the treaty as related to paper. Here is the clause itself:

Pulp of wood mechanically ground; pulp of wood, chemical, bleached, or unbleached; news print paper, and other paper and paper board, manufactured from mechanical wood pulp or from chemical wood pulp, or of which such pulp is a component material of chief value, colored in the pulp, or not colored, and *valued at not more than 4 cents per pound*, not including printed or decorated wall paper, free.

The italics, of course, are ours. The trick in the clause is quite obvious. The paper that newspapers are printed upon always costs less than four cents a pound; but the wood-pulp paper that thousands of magazines and periodicals buy costs as a rule somewhere between four cents and five cents a pound. Since the introduction of this reciprocity treaty in Congress, the selling agents of the large paper-makers have informed their inquiring customers that there is no benefit to be derived from this treaty by any publisher of a magazine or by book-publishing houses. There is no possible reason, in the nature of things, why that line should be drawn at four cents. The supposed object of reciprocity in wood pulp, and paper made from pulp, is to enable the

American consumer to draw upon the great and almost unlimited forests of Canada, now that our own forests are so largely swept away. Explanations will be welcomed.

A Joker
of the
Worst Sort

If a price line were to have been drawn in this clause of the treaty, it should have been at five cents, rather than at four. But there is no honest reason for any price line at all. It would be quite sufficient to designate "all paper made from wood pulp as the component material of chief value," as entitled to free entry under the agreement. This would leave out of the treaty the high-priced papers made of rags, linen, and other materials. When the agitation for putting paper and pulp on the free list was begun by the newspaper publishers' association in 1907, they invited the coöperation of the magazines and agreed to make no distinction in their claims on behalf of all wood-pulp paper used for making newspapers, periodicals, and books. It was with this understanding that Mr. Roosevelt, in his message to Congress of December, 1907, proposed that such paper and pulp should be put upon the free list by a special enactment. There was no thought at that time in anybody's mind of running a discriminating line through the measure in such a way as to give the newspapers their supply free, while subjecting the slightly better finished paper of periodicals to a very high rate of duty. The arguments for free "news-print" apply with equal force to magazine and book papers.



TAFT LASHES CONGRESS WITH THE THREAT OF AN
EXTRA SESSION

From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)



TAFT BATTERING DOWN THE WALL (WITH THE CHIEF
EMPHASIS ON THE "BATTERING" SYSTEM)

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

*Read Your
Bill Before
You Vote*

It is precisely because of many things of this kind, requiring explanation and discussion, that it is such a dangerous affair to jam an elaborate tariff bill down the throats of Congressmen and Senators before they even know what the measure contains. The late Senator Dolliver, objecting to this sort of thing in one of his last brilliant speeches on the floor of the Senate, made his witty definition of an "insurgent" as a man who insisted that a bill should at least be read before finally voted upon. There are a great many people besides Senator Cummins who wish to know why this treaty admits to the United States Canadian cattle but excludes Canadian beef. It would be much better for American consumers if the beef as well as the cattle were admitted free of duty. It is nothing to us in this country whether the Canadians allow a reciprocal arrangement or not. Our tariff arrangements should be made for the benefit of our own people. And it would be most desirable that they should be well discussed in detail, and thoroughly understood, before being adopted. It will not do to reproach consistent and conservative Republican protectionists on the one hand, nor yet the advanced tariff reformers on the other hand, for uniting in their wish to have this agreement studied and debated.

*Where the
Democrats
Score*

From the standpoint of party advantage, this measure must rebound wholly to the benefit of the Democrats. Its negotiation, by Secretary Knox and his technical helpers, has no party bearing one way or the other. But its swift and undebated passage through the House of Representatives,—with the solid support of the Democrats and the reluctant support of a minority of the Republicans,—gives all the political benefit of it, very properly, to the Democratic party. It does not make them responsible for the mistakes of this measure, but gives them a right to claim whatever merit there may be in it as a step toward a more liberal kind of tariff policy.

*A Change
of
Program*

A wise plan for the Republicans would have been to reform some one schedule in the present session, and to create a really powerful and important tariff commission with facilities for a rapid but thorough and scientific study of tariff problems. Mr. Taft's insistence upon jamming the reciprocity agreement through Congress involved a complete change of his program, inasmuch as, earlier in the session,

he had determined to press the Tariff Commission bill to a favorable conclusion. Conditions of public business were such in this short session that there was slight chance of accomplishing both things. There are Senators who are still old-fashioned enough and dignified enough to insist that great public measures must have consideration in Congress before they are enacted into law.

*Relations with
Canada
Already Good*

The President, it is true, has spoken with winning and convincing words upon the desirability of closer relations between Canada and the United States. In taking this tone he is walking upon safe and well-trodden ground. Close relations with Canada as a definite policy were far advanced when Mr. Taft was in the cabinet under a former administration. Secretary Root, with the sympathetic aid of the British ambassador, the statesmanlike cooperation of a great Governor General and a great Premier at Ottawa, and the good will of a friendly government at London, faced one problem after another and swept them away. Mr. Root's Canadian policy was of historic significance. Closer trade arrangements would naturally follow the settlement of all disputes, and there are daily signs of a strong trend in the direction of commercial unity. The thing most to be desired is full freedom of trade between Canada and the United States. But there is at this moment no need of a reciprocity trade agreement merely to promote good feeling. There is ample good feeling already. Mr. Champ Clark's allusion to an ultimate political union required no apologies. It has been freely talked of in England and everywhere else for half a century. If Canada ever wishes to annex us, we shall appreciate the compliment.

*No Rush
about
Reciprocity*

It follows that there can be no desperate rush about a reciprocity treaty that is not in its main features all that could be desired. The best way to secure the Canadian markets for our manufactures is to begin by opening our own markets to those Canadian products that our people need and ought to have. It is not so much what this particular trade agreement contains, as what it omits, that has so profoundly stirred up the American farmers. If they are to see the tariff removed from farm products which they produce, they would like to see it taken from some of the things they have to buy. It is not sufficient for Congress or for the country that Mr. Taft personally demands the passage of this measure. His

state of mind toward Canada is most commendable; but he certainly would not pretend that he had considered this measure in its details. A delay in ratification would mean no affront to Canada, inasmuch as this treaty is of our seeking rather than our neighbor's. Furthermore, the real question is not whether we are conceding too much to Canada, but whether we are denying too much to our own people.

*Pressure
at the
Wrong Time*

In fine, the time for Presidential pressure was in the spring and summer of 1909, when the whole subject of tariff revision was under debate. It would have been easy enough, with Mr. Taft's help at that time, to have made a proper paper-and-pulp schedule, free from such discreditable "jokers" as the four-cent limitation in the pending agreement. It would also have been possible, two years ago, to obtain very different textile schedules from those adopted, and to have secured a real tariff commission. While, then, there are some good things in this agreement with Canada, it is highly proper that Congress should have had an opportunity to study the measure and to debate it. It is also true that most of the good things in the agreement ought to have been embodied in our own tariff legislation, for the benefit of our own people, quite irrespective of Canadian policy.

*A More
Amazing
Instance*

While there might, indeed, be some excuse for trying to get a trade agreement confirmed,—even by the use of patronage and the threat of an extra session,—it is not so easy to understand reasons for some other attempts to achieve legislation by executive pressure and coercion. Late in the pending session, as a total surprise to every one concerned, President Taft and the Postmaster-General demanded that a radical increase in the postal rates on periodicals should be attached as a "rider" to an already completed postal appropriation bill. The uniform second-class postage rate as applied to newspapers and periodicals has been in force for more than a generation. The business of the periodical press has adjusted itself to present conditions as a permanent policy. No change in postal rates or classifications should be made except as a permanent policy carefully worked out. If the publishers are to change their method of doing business they should have fair notice. Any change of rates should be of a nature to be thoroughly understood, and it should have careful study and consideration.

*Some Facts
in the
Case*

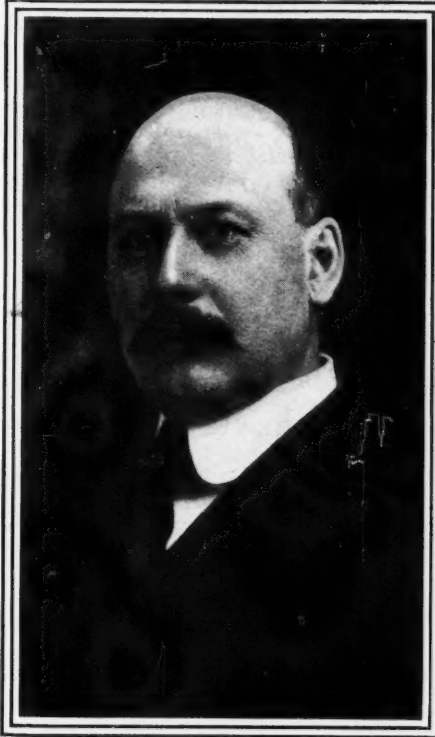
There are members of the postal committees of both houses of Congress who have studied these subjects much, and who understand them well. The present Postmaster-General has had no opportunity to study them thoroughly and has given no unusual evidence of understanding them well. Mr. Taft, with a multitude of matters before him, has never had time nor opportunity to know anything whatever about these details of post-office business. Last year, in the long session of Congress, the Post-Office Committee of the House gave many days to full hearings upon the question of increasing postage rates on second-class matter. The chairman of the committee, Hon. John W. Weeks, is a public man of business experience and a strong grasp upon these subjects. He has made it his duty to study the postal problems, and the same thing is true of the other members of the House Committee, both Republicans and Democrats. As a result of their inquiry last year, they were not able to convince themselves that the rates on second-class matter ought to be raised until after we should have secured a business organization of the Post-Office, and could obtain accurate figures, together with conclusions worked out intelligently and fairly by men of knowledge.

*Need of Busi-
ness Methods in
the Post-Office*

A great joint commission was appointed several years ago, including Senators Penrose, Carter, and Clay, and from the other House the late Mr. Overstreet, with Messrs. Gardner and Moon. This committee held hearings in New York, Washington, and elsewhere, and made an illuminating report, accompanied by a bill of the highest value and importance. This measure was known as the "Overstreet bill" in the House, and as the "Carter bill" in the Senate. It called for a permanent director of posts, with assistants in direct charge of different parts of the business. At present the Post-Office Department, on the administrative side, does not focus at all. The present Postmaster-General, who came to his Cabinet position heavily burdened with the office of chairman of the Republican National Committee, has been obliged to give his time to appointments and to politics. Beneath him is an unmapped administrative wilderness, roughly divided among non-communicating and unrelated tribes, presided over by chiefs whose names and functions are as yet for the most part unknown. There is no single human being who grasps the business as a whole, or administers it with intelligence or skill.

The Neglected Carter Bill

Mr. Meyer and Mr. Cortelyou did remarkably well with an obsolete system, and would undoubtedly have welcomed the reconstruction that the best study of Congress has declared to be necessary. At the present moment, the Senate Committee and the House Committee know perfectly well, and eagerly declare, that the one thing to be done for the Post-Office Department is to clean out its Augean political stables,—which smell to heaven in their rankness,—and make a business organization out of it. This can be done by passing the Carter bill. It has no enemies outside of the Department and its political beneficiaries. It is not the publishers alone who are up in arms against the system as it is. The thousands of faithful employees of the Post-Office Department,—those in the arduous railway-mail service, and those who do the real work in all the other branches,—are the victims of this bad and wasteful system. It ought not to be the business of Postmaster-Generals or traveling post-office inspectors to “round up” delegates for the next national convention. Even the much-maligned railroads, accused of obtaining too much from the Government for carrying the mails, are just as much opposed to the present system as are the publishers.



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HON. JOHN W. WEEKS, OF MASSACHUSETTS

The Railroads Demand Post-Office Reform

There is no reason to believe at the present time, however it may have been many years ago, that the railroads are getting more than they ought to have for the work that they do. The railroads of the country have now a joint “Committee on Railway Mail Pay,” of which the chairman is Mr. Kruttschnitt, a high official of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific systems, distinguished for his ability and his thoroughness. The vice-chairman of the committee is Mr. Peters, president of the Long Island Railroad. The six other members are all of them high officials of important railways. They have united in a preliminary report, which became available last month, and which tears to shreds the statistics promulgated by the Post-Office Department on the cost of carrying the mails. Less politics and more business in the Department is the demand of the railroads. The periodical publishers, from their own independent standpoint, have also shown how fallacious and unreliable are the statistical efforts of the Department to bolster up the assault upon the periodicals. It is disgraceful to employ the resources of a great department to support narrow views with wrong figures.

(Mr. Weeks, who is chairman of the Postal Committee of the House, is also the champion of forest reserves for the eastern part of the country. His bill, which passed the House last session, was carried through the Senate on February 15 and became a law. Under it we shall secure the great Appalachian Forest Reserve of the South and the mountain forest reserves needed for New England. Passing this bill is one of the few personal triumphs of the expiring Sixty-first Congress.—See also page 272.)

Who Holds up the Carter Bill?

To return, however, to the situation in Congress;—if the Carter bill could have been passed last winter it would have reorganized the Post-Office Department, and then we could have had real economy and an ample surplus, without any change of rates or classifications. Further than that, we could have had an intelligent study and some reliable figures. But why was not the Carter bill passed? For the very simple reason that the Administration, while not openly opposing it, did all that it could to persuade the postal committees not to urge it. It is quite possible indeed that Mr. Taft has never heard of the Carter bill. He had been pushing a very creditable scheme for economy in the departments that would put a stop to the waste in buying lead pencils, and that would in many other ways save not merely cents but thousands of dollars. Yet the one great business

department of the Government which comes into touch with all the people of the country, is run in a slipshod fashion under antiquated laws. And the one obstacle in the way of getting this department on a business basis has been traceable straight to the Administration itself. To have reformed the department before 1912 would have weakened it as a political center. A permanent director of posts would not have allowed his organization to be used for partisan or personal ends.

Speaker Cannon and the Postal Laws Let those people criticize Speaker Cannon who will; but it was Mr. Cannon, in his early career, who gave the American press its broad opportunity, by bills that he promoted when he served on the Postal Committee for the establishment of the uniform pound-rate system. And it was Speaker Cannon who chose and supported the late Mr. Overstreet as chairman of the Postal Committee and who afterwards gave us the committee as now constituted with Mr. Weeks as chairman. Speaker Cannon has keenly felt the attacks of certain periodicals, and has not been wasting any sympathy upon the publishers who might suffer by an increase of the present rate. But never, even in his moods of greatest wrath, has Mr. Cannon forgotten that there are certain legislative proprieties to be observed, and that great and underlying policies should be fairly considered. If one cent a pound on second-class matter is not enough, Mr. Cannon would wish to have the matter thoroughly debated, and openly acted upon. The Overstreet-Penrose commission gave this subject immense study, and refused to recommend an increase in the rate. Chairman Weeks and his committee last winter also wrestled with the question, and declined at present to propose any increase.

The Recent Proceedings During all the early part of the present session, the House committee stood prepared to consider any proposition laid before it. The Postmaster-General was given repeated opportunity to make proposals, but he had nothing to bring forward. The publishers meanwhile were assured by the House committee that if anything were under consideration they should be heard. At length the time was ended for taking up any such question as a change of rate; the postal appropriation bill was completed; and the statement was made that such new matter could not in the closing days of the Sixty-first Congress

come up for discussion. The Senate committee, in turn, took up the appropriation bill, and publishers were informed by its leading members that the question of a change of rate could not and would not be considered in the present session. Mr. Penrose, Mr. Carter, Mr. Crane, and their associates on this committee, were ready to report the appropriation bill, when certain of them were



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SENATOR CARTER, OF MONTANA

(Whose great postal bill has been side-tracked and ignored, while vicious schemes have been forced to the front)

summoned to the White House. They were told that the President and the Postmaster-General were determined to have an increase of postal rates on periodicals attached as a rider to the appropriation bill, and jammed through Congress, for the one and only reason that the Administration desired it.

Senate Committee Not Responsible Several members of the Senate committee were losing their seats as a result of the Democratic landslide. If there were reasons of a personal kind, as has been freely asserted, why they could ill afford to refuse the White House a favor that amounted to a command, it is no concern of ours. It would merely illustrate the patronage evil in another way. The Senators were not guilty of any trickery in allowing this rider to be attached. They admitted freely enough that it was against

the rules of the Senate. The President was informed that it could be thrown out on a point of order, unless the Senate should override its own rules. They were not responsible for the amendment, and they added it to the appropriation bill against their own judgment, as purely extraneous matter, and avowedly at executive dictation. Every opportunity had been given early in the session. The measure was held back until the very last, with the idea that it could be crowded through under cover of an appropriation bill in its final stages. Furthermore, the publishers, who would have demanded a hearing, had been thrown entirely off their guard by means so mysterious and so peculiar (not reflecting in any way upon any member of either House of Congress) as to seem well-nigh beyond belief.

The Proposition itself There is no difference of opinion as to the methods pursued in the attempt to jam this proposal through Congress. The plan of a rider on the appropriation bill, sprung at the last moment, is not merely objectionable, but in the light of the circumstances it is scandalous. There is not a man in either branch of Congress who denies this when speaking about it in private. But apart from this scandalous method of proceeding, what about the merits of the proposition itself? The thing proposed is to weigh separately the advertising part of magazines and periodicals of general circulation, and charge it four times as high a rate as at present. Heretofore the post-office has drawn no line between newspapers and periodicals in the matter of the uniform pound rate. The Canadian Government, with a widely scattered population and vast distances to be traveled, charges a much lower uniform rate on newspapers and periodicals than our own. It is the mature conviction of most people who have studied the subject carefully that the uniform pound rate in this country is sound public policy, and that no reason exists for changing it. The Department at Washington says that the average haul of newspapers is shorter than that of periodicals. This is perfectly true, but the cost of handling the newspapers, per pound, including transportation, is decidedly greater than that of handling periodicals. It is a very transparent trick of the Post-Office Department to emphasize the item of transportation and ignore all the other factors of cost. If a dozen large periodicals of wide circulation were suddenly wiped out of existence, the Post-Office Department, instead of



SENATOR BOIES PENROSE, OF PENNSYLVANIA

(Mr. Penrose is chairman of the Senate Committee on Post-Office affairs, and he was also head of the United States Postal Commission, of which Senators Carter and Clay were members, which made a report opposed in every way to the methods and projects of the present Postmaster-General, and which demanded complete business reorganization of the Post-Office Department. The Carter bill was prepared as representing Mr. Penrose's views as well as those of the entire commission composed of three members of each House)

benefiting by its relief from the duty of carrying and distributing them, would be a positive and very considerable loser. This is a proposition that could be demonstrated to the satisfaction of any reasonable mind.

Taxing the Advertisers

The advertising parts of a magazine are just as legitimate and desirable as the reading part. It is highly profitable to the post-office to carry these advertising pages, because they result in the purchase of millions of two-cent stamps. Furthermore, to put a heavy penalty upon the display advertising pages might have a tendency to cause many periodicals to follow the example of those newspapers that carry advertising matter disguised as news or as pure reading. Nowadays the best magazines and periodicals edit their advertising with great care. There are reasons of public policy why it would be most vicious to discriminate against magazine advertising. The tax proposed would be so heavy, in the case of some periodicals, as to absorb their entire

profits. There is no sound reason for separating magazines from newspapers in the arrangement of postage rates. The country newspapers already have the benefit of entirely free distribution within the county of publication. Other newspapers should claim no favors as against magazines.

Our New
Censor at
Work

One of the principal objections to the proposed bill is that the Postmaster-General reserves to himself the right to decide what is a newspaper and what is not. The editors of agricultural periodicals throughout the country were up in arms against this peculiar measure last month, and Postmaster-General Hitchcock, fearing their opposition, proceeded to throw out ballast. Assuming in advance the rôle of censor, he took it upon himself to say that the agricultural publishers need not be worried, inasmuch as he would construe them all as newspapers and exempt them from the new rates. A Senator who had conferred with Mr. Hitchcock regarding an agricultural periodical in the Senator's State, was quoted as saying that our self-constituted arbiter and press censor, in his scheme for dividing the sheep from the goats, had hit upon a very pretty little device for bringing the agricultural periodicals into the fold of the favored class. They could run a few inches of market reports, or something of that kind.

"Sheets"
vs.
Pages

They would thus be spared the disaster of paying what in their cases would amount to four cents a pound on their entire weight; for it should be remembered that there are a good many surprising things in the details of Mr. Hitchcock's now famous bill. His proposal to charge quadruple postage applies not merely to advertising pages, such as are seen in this magazine, but also to "sheets of any publication . . . containing in whole or part any advertisement." It happens that most of the agricultural papers (like the women's magazines and various periodicals having a large page format) are so made up as to carry at least some advertising upon every sheet, though not by any means upon every page. The Hitchcock bill would necessitate a rearrangement of materials that would be almost impossible for the agricultural press, although a periodical printed like this REVIEW, which keeps its reading sheets and its advertising sheets separate, is not affected in that particular. It is obvious that the Postmaster-General, in promising immunity to the agricultural press, has been making assumptions

that Congress may decline to honor. The agricultural editors and publishers cannot, indeed, afford to be penalized. They have just as good reason to claim the uniform one-cent-a-pound rate as have the newspapers, and in most cases their claim is even better. But the agricultural press does not wish to be the recipient of sly or dubious favors at the hands of Mr. Hitchcock as a grantor of indulgences. There is not an agricultural editor in the country who does not know that the periodicals of general circulation have as good title to the uniform postage rate as the more special periodicals.

Are There
Other Privileged
Characters?

What reason can there be for exempting the agricultural press, without exempting the press devoted to any other pursuit or calling? Magazines and periodicals like the organ of the American Federation of Labor might ask why coal miners or carpenters or journeymen printers have not as good a right to circulate their periodicals as have the farmers. It was rumored at Washington that the Postmaster-General was also proposing, in this orgy of immunities and indulgences, to soothe the publishers of the religious press of the country. But here again who is to draw the line and how? Our excellent neighbor, *The Churchman*, with its fine pictures of Spanish cathedrals, and its bold views about prelates and statesmen, is a living refutation of the slander that the Episcopal Church interferes with no man's religion or politics. Now, surely, this periodical edited by Dr. McBee belongs in the category of the religious press. But how about another esteemed neighbor, the *Outlook*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, with the well-announced assistance of Colonel Roosevelt? Is the *Outlook* any less religious for having changed its name from the *Christian Union*? No one would like to deny the ability of Postmaster-General Hitchcock to decide all these nice questions. He could, indeed, put us all in our proper places. The trouble is that the preliminaries of a great national convention and a Presidential campaign are already looming up before Mr. Hitchcock; and it is morally certain that nobody would ever find him personally working on this new post-office job. The granting of indulgences to the meek and acquiescent (they have been shriven in advance) and the refusal of absolution to the fore-doomed muck-rakers, might be easy enough. But the making out of bills of health for the remaining thousands of periodicals of this country would become tangled up

in red tape, or settled offhand in queer ways by obscure and susceptible underlings.

Even as things are, the Post-Office Department is in a hopeless tangle of its own arbitrary rulings about second-class matter and other things. An attempt to discriminate among or against periodicals without defining them in the law, would have unanticipated results, and would lead to intolerable tyrannies and abuses. Horace Greeley circulated the *Weekly Tribune* as a national periodical throughout the length and breadth of the land. *Harper's Weekly* in that period, just fifty years ago, was also circulated everywhere. Who would have been so stupid as to suggest that Greeley's weekly should have been mailed at one rate of postage, and *Harper's Weekly* at another? The *Independent*, edited by Henry Ward Beecher, was a powerful weekly in those days, and the elder Bowen, who owned it, would have spoken out in righteous indignation if anybody at Washington had said that newspapers ought to have a more favorable rate of postage than periodicals like his. For exactly twenty years this REVIEW, under continuous direction and editorship, has endeavored to summarize each month the really significant news of the country and of the world and to interpret it with fairness. No periodical or newspaper has conformed, more truly than this one, to the fundamental purposes of Congress when it established the uniform pound rate. It is our mature opinion that the one-cent-a-pound rate would be just as good for the years to come, as it has been for the long years that lie behind.

Cause and
Cure of
Deficits

The slight deficit in the Post-Office Department is due to politics in the first instance. It could be wiped out immediately, by getting rid of political postmasters, and paying only those who do the real work in the post-offices. It could also be gotten rid of by reorganizing the rural free delivery service, not to harm it in the least, but to make it efficient. There are a dozen other ways in which a permanent director of the posts could turn the deficit into a surplus, without a thought of increasing any rates or charges. The expansion of rural free delivery has thrown upon the post-office a huge expenditure without any appreciable income. This expense for a few years might well have been met by a definite appropriation. The profits of the Post-Office Department are so great, however, that they have already almost entirely covered the deficit

created by the rural service. Nothing has prevented the turning of a post-office deficit, now very small, into a large visible surplus, except political obstruction in the way of business reforms; and this political obstruction has come chiefly,—so well-informed Senators and Congressman declare,—from a Postmaster-General who was also at the same time chairman of the National Republican Committee.

Politics and
Nothing
More

The glaring impropriety of turning over the management of the postal business of the United States to the manager of a Presidential campaign, has become obvious to all men of all parties. Mr. Hitchcock, as we have always gladly admitted, could learn to manage the business of the Post-Office Department as well as he has learned the ins and outs of party politics. He is the unhappy victim of a situation that he did not create. But it is impossible for him or any other man to serve these two divergent interests at the same time. How could any man, in so distracting a predicament, give wise thought and direction to postal affairs, or rid his mind of political motives when he has decisions to make? The scheme to penalize the magazines, though pretending to have a postal-revenue motive, has no merits whatever from the revenue standpoint. If second-class matter at one cent a pound is not paying enough, a very simple and obvious device would be to increase that rate by 25 per cent. or even 50 per cent. Such an increase would immediately wipe out the existing deficit, would change no relative conditions, and raise no questions in that broad, shadowy zone between newspapers and periodicals, that no man can be safely allowed to determine.

A Curious
Exemption
Line

The haphazard and ridiculous nature of the recent proposition can be shown by examining another of its details. Tacked on to this new provision are these final words: "*provided, that the increased rate shall not apply to publications mailing less than four thousand pounds of each issue.*" It is stated that Mr. Hitchcock added this proviso to accommodate a Senator who was interested in a comparatively small periodical in his own State. But let us consider for a moment what it means. The great organ of Wall Street, far more profitable than most of the popular periodicals, is the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*. Its subscription price is ten dollars a year, and its advertising rates, of course, are

not low. Yet it claims a circulation of only 2000 copies. Why should it have access to the mails, in order to reach leading bankers throughout the United States, at one cent a pound on its present circulation, while it would have to pay four cents a pound if its circulation were considerably larger? This financial journal, which appears weekly, has a series of special supplements, some of them bulky, amounting to thirty-four in the course of the year. Its "bank and quotation" supplement is monthly, its "railway supplement" is quarterly, and so on. By a proper distribution of these supplements in association with its fifty-two weekly issues, this paper could evidently avoid altogether the four-cent rate, although its supplements are loaded with profitable advertising. If, on the other hand, this admirable organ of banking and financial interests had its issues aggregated on a monthly basis, it would be compelled, undoubtedly, to pay four cents a pound on its entire weight.

Exempting
a Liquor
Organ

The foregoing illustration is used to show how full of tricks is this proviso for the exemption of periodicals mailing less than 4000 pounds at one time. Take another illustration: The great organ of the distillers and wholesale liquor dealers is an extremely valuable property, loaded with high-priced advertising, yet naturally having a restricted circulation. Its outside claim is a circulation of 4500 copies. It circulates throughout the country, so that the post-office must give it the benefit of a long average haul. Yet it would be very feasible for this periodical to keep each copy well inside the weight of sixteen ounces, so as to avoid mailing more than 4000 pounds at each issue. This organ of the liquor trade is purely a commercial affair. It bears no relation to the education or culture of the country. We are not criticizing it, but we should like to ask Mr. Hitchcock and President Taft just why it is that they propose to multiply the postal rate on the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, while exempting from any increase a great number of highly profitable periodicals like this organ of the wine and spirit interests?

A
Senseless
Exemption

The truth is that these strictly commercial or trade organs, loaded with advertising which has no popular character, have always wondered at the liberal treatment accorded them in being allowed to circulate along with regular newspapers and public journals at the one-cent rate. Under the Canadian law, which

at this moment circulates the AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS as a newspaper at one cent a pound (advertising and all), these trade journals now have to pay, at the least, four cents a pound, because they are not recognized as having the news character. The Canadian magazines and periodicals are circulated throughout Canada at one-fourth of a cent a pound. But Mr. Hitchcock now proposes an arrangement that would compel the *Christian Herald*, for example, to pay four cents a pound on its entire weight, while admitting the famous *Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular* at one cent a pound (advertising and all). This, of course, is not devised in the interest of the postal revenues. It costs the Government a great deal more to carry and distribute a pound of mere leaflets, numbering many pieces to the pound, than to carry and deliver magazines weighing a pound per copy. No small publisher has ever claimed that he ought to have a better rate at the post-office than the large publishers. On the other hand, no large publisher has ever wished a better rate than that given to the small publishers,—although the business of the large ones is much more profitable to the post-office. The purpose of the 4000-pound exemption was merely to diminish opposition to the bill. A great many highly profitable commercial and trade organs could so adapt their business as to be exempt under this limit. A monthly periodical mailing 15,000 pounds could become a weekly and escape altogether the increased rate. A weekly paper now mailing somewhat more than 4000 pounds could use a lighter paper, diminish the size of its page, and escape the penalty.

Out with Politics!
In with
Business!

If this discussion seems protracted, the occasion must be urged in justification. Never has so improper or unfair an attack been made upon the freedom of national journalism. The real question is not one of increased postage rates, but one of purposeful and malignant discrimination. The scheme was carefully held back till the last moment, so that Congress might not fully understand it, and so that the periodicals should have no time to discuss it with their readers. Whether wisely or unwisely, the publishers of periodicals bought advertising space in newspapers in order to make the public aware of the imminence and real nature of the trick that was on foot in Washington. Our readers need not be told that this magazine has had no part in that particular method of journalism called "muck-raking." We have endeavored to

treat public officials with all the respect due them—often more than their personal deserts—and have given them the benefit of the doubt in every case. But a public journal owes duties to its readers; and any attempt to muzzle the freedom of magazines and periodicals, in their nation-wide discussion of problems of politics or finance, ought to be repudiated with emphasis. The proposal to set up an odious censorship in the Post-Office Department at Washington deserves rebuke. However Senators and Congressmen may have resented criticisms and personal attacks in certain magazines and periodicals, they do not wish the press to be censored by a political Post-Office Department,—any more than they themselves like to be tyrannized over by that same Department, in the appointments that affect the welfare of their respective localities. We are all of us perfectly willing to pay any postal rate that scientific and able business men may think proper. But the Post-Office Department, which has exercised *petty* tyranny in a hundred ways, is now proposing to exercise *large* tyranny. Only one thing do we ask of our friends and readers; that is, an insistent demand that politics and politicians be scourged out of the post-office system, and that business men and business methods be brought in.

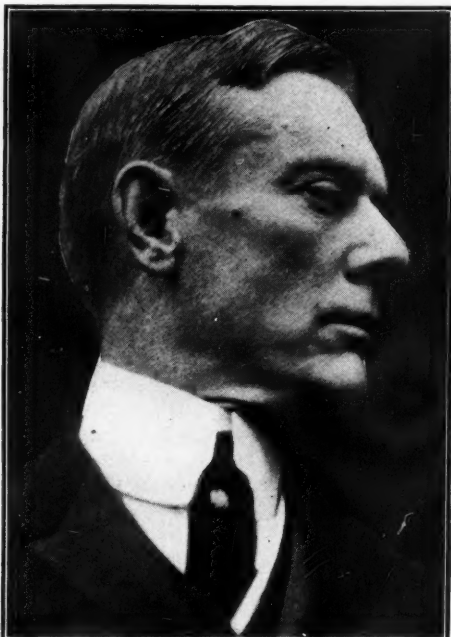
Few of our public men who have attained the dignity of chief magistrate, have traveled so widely or have known so many parts of the country at first hand, as has President Taft. Before



PRESIDENT TAFT: "NOW, WHO'LL CARRY THIS GRIP?"
From the *Press* (New York)

his nomination, Mr. Taft was a veritable globe trotter. Since he has become President he has made many and extensive speech-making trips North and South, East and West. With each succeeding tour his audiences have noticed greater ease and breadth in public speaking. Last month he made a dozen stirring addresses on a variety of subjects at widely separated points. On February 10, addressing the National Corn Exposition at the Ohio State Fair at Columbus, he appealed to the farmers to support Canadian reciprocity. The same day he spoke to the Ohio State University. The next day he admonished the leaders of his party on the subject of reciprocity and political duty, in an address to the Illinois State Legislature at Springfield. After speeches at Decatur and other towns, he made the Lincoln address to the Springfield Chamber of Commerce. Early in the present month he will begin a Southern tour of speech-making with an address, on March 8, before the Southern Commercial Congress at Atlanta, Georgia. In June he will move to his summer home at Beverly, Massachusetts, and from there several excursions into the East and Middle West are being planned. An itinerary has already been made for a fall tour to begin with an address at the Kansas State Fair at Hutchinson, late in September. President Taft's reasoning in behalf of reciprocity with Canada has been cogent and persuasive. However Congress and political leaders generally may have objected to "rail-roading" methods in putting the reciprocity measure through Congress, there can be no difference of opinion as to the propriety and great value of making the people at large acquainted, through the words of the President himself, with the scope, intent and merits of such a measure.

Never in recent times has debating in the United States Senate been on a higher plane of ability than in the session now ending. The discussion of the election of Senators by popular vote has been notable. The debate on the Lorimer case has been thorough beyond all Senate precedents. The tariff commission as a topic was somewhat obscured by the unexpected appearance of the reciprocity agreement with Canada. Another topic of the month was the fortification of the Panama Canal. President Taft has insisted upon such fortification, and Mr. Carnegie, as leading American exponent of peace ideas, has fully supported the President. Colonel Goethals,



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SENATOR BEVERIDGE, OF INDIANA

(Whose last weeks at the close of twelve years in the Senate have been marked by great activity and brilliant debating)

who is digging the canal, has shown Congress the engineering problems involved, while Senator Money and others have presented the general arguments in favor of such defenses at Panama as would enable us to make good our purposes in constructing the great waterway. Senator Root's speeches have been of exceptional scope and power in the present session, although many of his admirers had hoped that he might support the measure looking to the popular election of Senators. Senators Root, Burton, Cummins, and others made strong arguments against Mr. Lorimer's retention of his seat, while Senator Bailey of Texas made the principal speech in Lorimer's favor. Senator Beveridge, who retires on the 4th of March, has spoken with great effect on several questions. It is not strange that he should favor strongly the popular election of Senators, and it will be remembered that his minority report turned the tide against Lorimer. Mr. Beveridge was one of the very first to speak on behalf of the prompt ratification of the Canadian agreement. His argument was on the broad policy of close relationship, rather than upon the details of the measure itself. The Ocean Mail Subsidy bill, intended to encourage American steamships,

passed the Senate on February 2, but opposition in the House seemed to indicate that the measure would fail to become a law. We greatly need more direct communication with South America, although the best way to obtain it is a question hard to agree upon.

Mr. Meyer and the Navy The Naval appropriation bill carries, in round figures, \$125,000,000. This includes two large battleships and fourteen smaller vessels. Secretary Meyer's management of the Navy Department has won great approval by reason of its intelligence and efficiency. The completion of the Panama Canal, with proper defenses and the full establishment of a naval base in the Caribbean, will enable our fleet to move quickly from one ocean to the other, and will thus in the end permit us to maintain a smaller navy than would otherwise be necessary.

The Appalachian Forest Reserves By an overwhelming majority the United States Senate has at last passed a bill for the creation of the Appalachian and White Mountain Forest Reserves. This measure, which had passed the House at the last session, under



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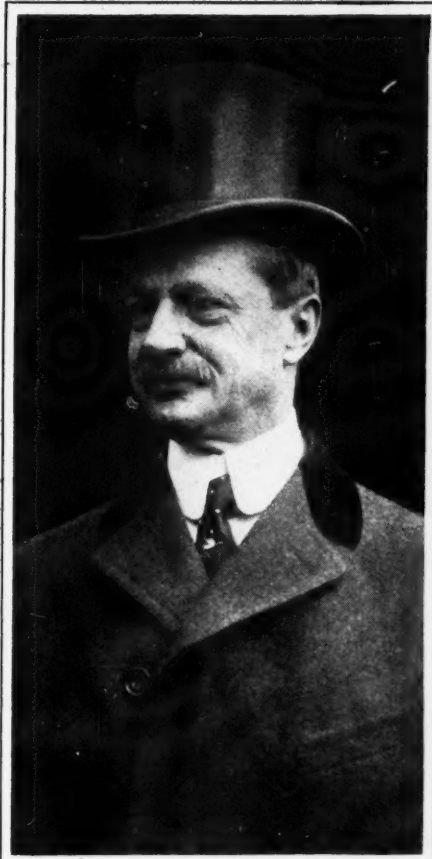
HON. JOSEPH W. BAILEY, OF TEXAS

(Foremost Democratic orator of the Senate)

the energetic championship of Representative Weeks of Massachusetts, authorized an appropriation of approximately \$10,000,000 to be expended by the federal Government in coöperation with the States during the next five years, in protecting the watersheds of navigable streams which have their rise in the White and Appalachian Mountains. The passage of the bill comes not a day too soon for the salvation of the White Mountain forests. Serious ravages have already been committed, but the nation may be thankful that so great an area of fine forest still remains uninjured. The fact that the State of New Hampshire has already taken steps to protect the famous Crawford Notch indicates that a wise and practical coöperation between the federal and State governments may be expected. The bill provides for the appointment of a National Forest Reservation Commission consisting of the Secretaries of War, Agriculture, and the Interior, and two members each of the House and Senate, who shall supervise the purchase of the areas to be included in the reservations. In years past the REVIEW OF REVIEWS has more than once directed attention to the pressing need of such a measure as this, and we are glad to be able to record the successful ending of the long and sometimes discouraging campaign for its adoption.

*A Progressive
Republican
Movement*

Senator Bourne of Oregon is the president of a National Progressive Republican League, the object of which is announced to be "the promotion of popular government and progressive legislation." With possibly one or two exceptions, all the United States Senators who have been classed as Progressives have become members of this league, and most of the well-known leaders in what has been known as the progressive movement in Republican politics are also included in the membership. There are, doubtless, many other organizations that would avow the same general object, but the league sets out to attain that object through five specific reforms. These are: (1) Popular election of United States Senators; (2) Direct primaries for all elective offices; (3) Direct election of delegates to the national convention, with opportunity for the voter to indicate his choice for President and Vice-President; (4) Amendments to the State constitutions providing for the initiative, referendum, and recall; (5) A thorough-going corrupt practices act. Some of the States which the progressive Senators represent have already embodied in their legisla-



Photograph by the American Press Association, N. Y.
HON. GEORGE V. L. MEYER, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
(A recent snap-shot)

tion all of these reforms except the first, which requires an amendment to the federal Constitution. In Oregon, however, the people have secured what amounts to the same thing as direct election of United States Senators, by compelling candidates for the Legislature to vote for the popular choice. Since these reforms have already made such marked progress in a number of States, the new league may with reason consider itself as justified in working for their adoption in others. Not all Republicans who regard themselves as "progressive" would be willing to declare their adherence to every one of the five methods which the league has adopted for the attainment of its general object. Probably every Progressive Republican, however, would endorse one or more of the five, and many of those who are in that mental attitude are open to conviction, and may later be brought to accept the whole platform of the

league as it stands. On page 333 of this number Mr. Victor Rosewater, of the National Republican Committee, states some of the objections to the Oregon plan for selecting delegates to the national convention by direct primary. In succeeding pages there is an interesting discussion of the question of the hour in American politics—"Will There Be a New Party?" An independent, a Democrat, and a Republican, take part in this discussion.

The Anti-Bribery Campaign

In our February number the work of ridding Adams County, Ohio, of the evil of vote-selling was described in detail. The process of purification, conducted by Judge A. Z. Blair, was continued last month and culminated with the return of 328 indictments by the grand jury in a single day. These were all against voters who had entered voluntary pleas of guilty. The total number of in-

dictments in the county was 2148,—one-third of the electorate. In Scioto County (just east of Adams) similar procedure resulted in forty-one indictments. Meanwhile, a question of the constitutionality of the statute under which Judge Blair acted having been raised, a test case was presented to the State Supreme Court for decision. In the interim proceedings have been suspended by general agreement. In Danville, Illinois, about 200 indictments were returned on February 15 for the offense of vote-selling. It is evident that the lesson of Adams County has been effective beyond the State boundaries.

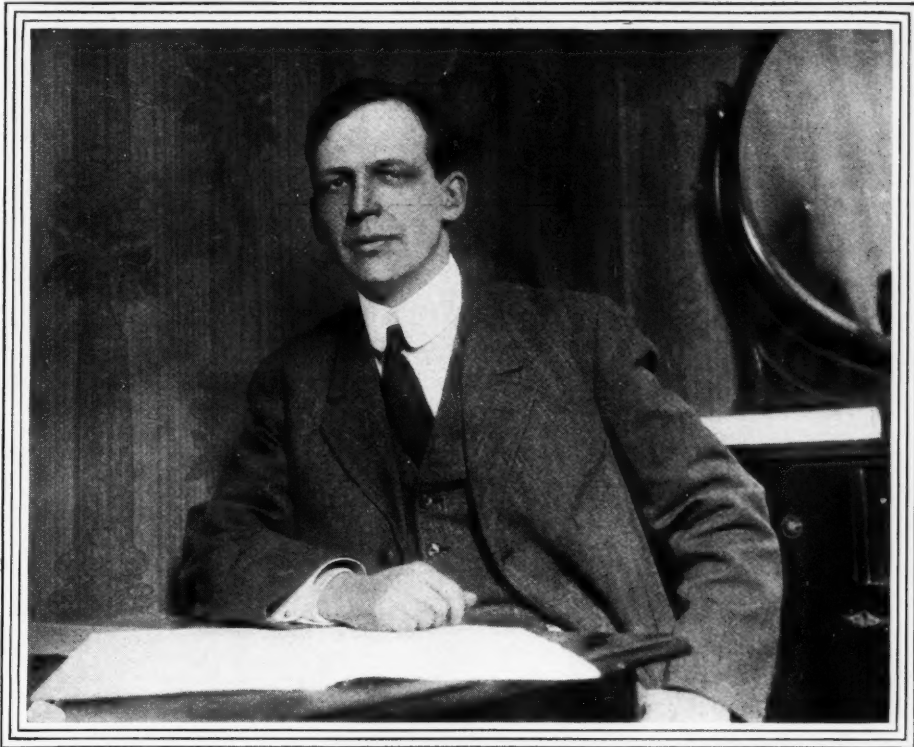
Women's Votes in Seattle

In the "recall" election for the mayoralty held in the city of Seattle on February 7, the women voters, who had been enfranchised only three months before by the adoption of an amendment to the Washington State constitution, had a striking and unusual opportunity to



MAKING THE SPARKS FLY—APROPOS OF THE "RECALL" ELECTION IN SEATTLE

From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



PROFESSOR CHARLES E. MERRIAM, CANDIDATE IN THE CHICAGO PRIMARIES FOR THE MAYORALTY NOMINATION ON FEBRUARY 28

show what woman suffrage really means in an important municipal campaign. This particular contest had attracted far more than ordinary attention throughout the country, since it was the second important recall election that has been held since this electoral innovation was proposed, the first having taken place two years ago in the city of Los Angeles. In a total vote of over 62,000, Mayor Gill, whose recall had been demanded, was defeated by a plurality of over 6000 votes, the successful candidate being Mr. George W. Dilling. There seems to be no question whatever that it was the women voters who accomplished Mayor Gill's defeat. The recall petition alleged that Gill had abused the appointive power by selecting men personally unfit for the offices to which they were appointed; that he had not only neglected but had actually refused to enforce the criminal laws, and had permitted Seattle to become a refuge for the criminal classes. In a clearly defined issue of clean government against the open toleration of vice there could be little question of how the women of the city would vote. Of the 71,000 registered

voters in Seattle, 22,000 were women, and a large majority of them voted for the recall.

*Chicago's
Mayoralty
Campaign*

This year's mayoralty election in Chicago is arousing much interest. Although the voting does not take place until April, the candidacies for the primary nominations were well under way early last month. Of the half-dozen candidates for the Republican nomination, the one best known to the country was Prof. Charles E. Merriam, of the University of Chicago, who, five years ago, prepared an important report on the municipal revenues of the city, and after his election as alderman secured the appointment of a commission to investigate the city's expenditures. This body, known as the Merriam Commission, employed the best known available experts in the country to study the various city departments and to devise improved methods. In offering himself as a candidate at the primaries for the mayoralty nomination, Professor Merriam promised to put the constructive recommendations of the commission into effect, should he be elected Mayor.



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A GROUP AT THE GREELEY CENTENARY EXERCISES AT CHAPPAQUA, N. Y.

(Mrs. Clendenin, Horace Greeley's daughter, with her husband, the Rev. Dr. Frank M. Clendenin, in the center)

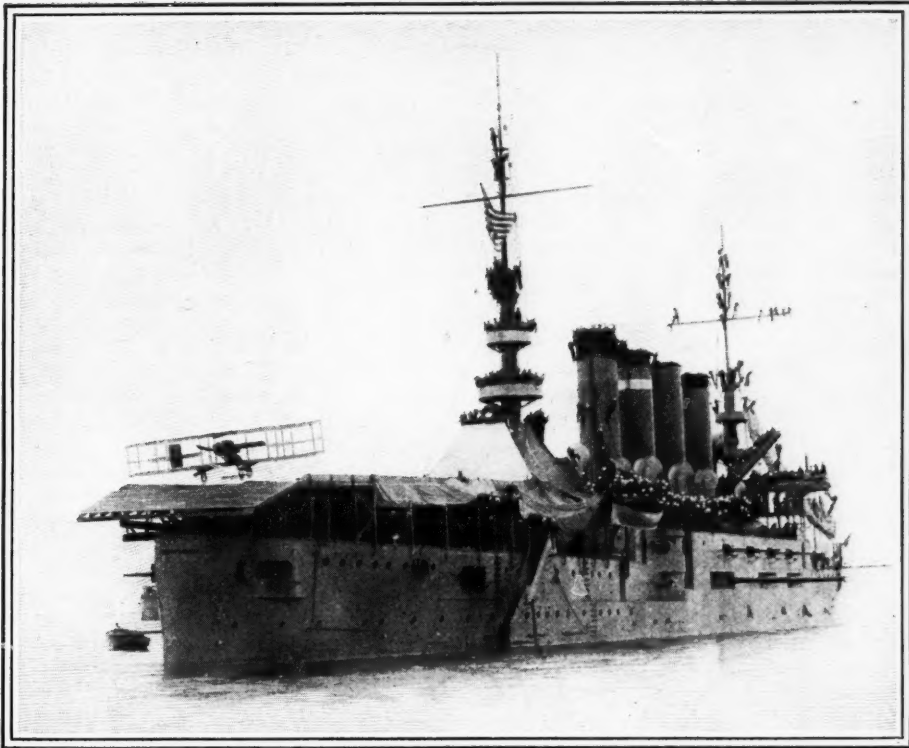
The present generation neither knows nor honors its great journalists, and that is one reason why the centenary of the greatest of all American newspaper editors was permitted to pass, on the third of last month, with comparatively slight recognition. Unfortunately for his permanent fame, the events of Horace Greeley's latter years caused his surviving contemporaries to remember him as a politician rather than as a mold of public opinion. Yet it is but fair that his career should be judged by what he achieved in his chosen calling, apart from the exigencies of poli-

tics. As editor of the *Tribune*, he had a weekly audience of half a million people, representing every Northern State. His hold on the farmers of the North became, indeed, a powerful factor in the election of Lincoln, and later in the support of the Union by the Northern States. Greeley was always a "farmer editor," and it was peculiarly fitting that, on the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, a memorial to him should be begun near the site of his famous home farm at Chappaqua, in Westchester County, now the home of his daughter, Mrs. Gabrielle Greeley Clendenin.



Photograph by the American Press Association, N. Y.

MARKING THE SITE OF THE GREELEY MEMORIAL AT CHAPPAQUA, N. Y., ON FEBRUARY 3



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EUGENE ELY ALIGHTING ON THE DECK OF THE U. S. BATTLESHIP "PENNSYLVANIA"

*The Child
and the
City*

The Child Welfare Exhibit, held in New York during the last week in January and the first half of February, proved to be a great source of popular instruction and even of entertainment. It was visited by nearly 300,000 people. Every visitor, it is safe to say, derived from it some helpful suggestion, which, if put into effect, would give American childhood, especially in great cities, a more wholesome environment than it has now. The committee that assembled the exhibit devoted more than a year to the most painstaking research into "all the conditions of city life which affect city children for good or for evil." The one thing that the exhibit made clear beyond all question was the fact that the welfare of the city child measures the welfare of the city itself. Scores of New York's social, charitable, and educational institutions coöperated in producing this wonderful exhibit. There is no reason why similar demonstrations should not be offered to the citizens of every American metropolis. In wealth of illustrative material no single city can boast a monopoly.

*Progress
in
Aviation*

The art of flying continues to make steady progress. The most striking feats of this kind recently have been achieved over the water. Mr. Glenn Curtiss, after many experiments, has at last made several successful flights from the waters of San Diego Bay, arising and alighting with perfect ease. Eugene Ely's 12-mile flight from the aviation field at San Francisco to the warship *Pennsylvania* anchored in the bay, was also accomplished with entire success. McCurdy's over-water flight of 96 miles from Key West—the longest yet accomplished—was considered practically a success and the aviator received ovations and prizes, although he fell into the sea when within ten miles of Havana, his objective point. These naval feats by aeroplane undoubtedly had considerable influence in inducing Congress to make an appropriation of \$125,000 for equipping the Signal Corps with aeroplanes. This is not as large a sum as is annually being devoted to this purpose by some of the other nations interested in the military possibilities of aviation, but it is larger than previous appropriations.

*Reciprocity
Not a
New Idea*

Reciprocity with Canada is not a new idea. It is now almost sixty-five years since the Dominion first proposed the plan to the United States. In 1846 Mr. Pakenham, then British Minister at Washington, brought the matter to the attention of Robert Walker, who was at the time Secretary of the United States Treasury. Some months before this the Canadian Parliament had adopted an address to Queen Victoria asking that negotiations be opened to bring about "reciprocal admission of food products upon equal terms." A bill was introduced in the Canadian Parliament, and a similar one was passed by the House of Representatives at Washington, but the Senate ignored it. At that time Canada was more eager than the United States for reciprocity. Four years later a bill was favorably reported from committee in the House at Washington. This measure included a demand for matters which the Canadian Government did not regard as germane to the question at issue. The measure never came to a vote. It was at this time that the questions of fisheries and the free navigation of Canadian waters were injected into the problem, complicating matters so that nothing was done for years. Early in 1854 Lord Elgin, the British Ambassador, conferred with President Pierce on the advantages of reciprocity, and a treaty was finally negotiated providing for the free navigation asked by the Americans, a temporary settlement of the fisheries question, and a certain amount of "freer trade." This treaty lasted for eleven years and then "died of inanition" in 1865. Four years later Sir John Rose headed a mission to Washington to negotiate for reciprocity, which, however, proved fruitless, as did all other negotiations until the present time, owing to the impossibility of finding some common ground. In 1889 Representative Butterworth, of Ohio, introduced in the House a bill for full freedom of trade with the Dominion, but this bill was never reported out of the Ways and Means Committee. There was, at this time, a widespread discussion of the subject. Prominent among the advocates of a freer trade were Erastus Wiman in this country and Goldwin Smith in Canada.

*Laurier
and
Reciprocity*

In 1896 Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in his first premiership, sent two commissioners to Washington, but they accomplished nothing. "We make no more pilgrimages to Washington," said Sir Wilfrid. Since those days Canada has

"found herself." She has been able to maintain an independent position before this country on the tariff question, and to build up her industries with the aid of higher rates and concessions in return for equal favors. Meanwhile economic changes in the United States had brought all parties around to a willingness to consider questions of tariff concessions. Mr. Blaine, when Secretary of State, and later President McKinley, became out-and-out champions of the reciprocity idea. Indeed Mr. McKinley may, in a sense, be called the father of the latest phase of the reciprocity movement. Then came, in the beginning of 1907, the Canadian tour of Mr. Root, at that time Secretary of State. It may be said that in his conferences with Earl Grey, the Governor General, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Premier, and other Canadian statesmen, the way was paved for the complete and cordial understanding which now exists between the two countries. Questions of boundary, the fisheries, postal arrangements and tariff relations were discussed and the two governments made ready for the negotiations which have resulted in the present reciprocity agreement. So that much of the credit of the coming together of the two peoples must be accorded to the statesmanship of Mr. Root and the far-sight of President Roosevelt. The negotiations resulting in the present agreement were begun at Ottawa in September last. The Canadian negotiators were Hon. W. S. Fielding, Minister of Finance; Hon. William Paterson, Minister of Customs; and Mr. James A. Russel, a tariff expert. The American negotiators were Secretary Knox; Mr. Chandler P. Anderson, counselor of the State Department; Mr. Charles M. Pepper, commercial expert of the Bureau of Trade Relations, and Mr. Charles P. Montgomery, chief of the Customs Division of the Treasury Department.

*Concluding
the
Agreement*

The text of the agreement, with elaborate schedules attached, was submitted to Congress on January 26, with a special message from President Taft urging its prompt enactment into law. On the same day the Hon. W. S. Fielding, Canadian Minister of Finance, addressed the Dominion House of Commons at Ottawa, giving the history of the reciprocity negotiations, and laying the agreement itself upon the table of the House. A bill embodying the provisions of the program was immediately introduced in the House of Representatives at Washington by Hon. Samuel W. McCall of Massachusetts. It was favor-

ably reported by the Ways and Means Committee on February 10, and, four days later, the House passed it by a vote of 221-93. The bill went through without any amendment except a technical one proposed by the committee "to clarify the section relating to wood pulp and print paper, in order that it might more closely conform to the ideas of the negotiators." On February 15, it was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and at once turned over to the Finance Committee. On February 7 the Canadian Government caucus decided in favor of the measure, which came before it in the form of a resolution drawn up by the Minister of Finance. This was adopted at once. Its provisions were then presented to the Dominion House of Commons in the form of a bill amending the Customs Act. This measure was considered, schedule by schedule, and the opposition recorded its disapproval, item by item. It was expected, however, that by the first of the present month the measure would go through with the normal government majority, which, at the present time, is about fifty votes.

*What the
Program
Provides*

From the summary of the changes provided by the new agreement, which was given out to the press on January 26 concurrently by our own State Department and the Dominion authorities at Ottawa, we learn that the program provides for the abolition of duty on a number of staple articles of trade between the two countries, and for the reduction of duties on many others. On wheat and other grains, dairy products, fresh fruits and vegetables, fish, eggs and poultry, cattle and other live animals the duty is abolished entirely by both countries. The United States makes rough timber free, and Canada replies by letting in cotton-seed oil without a duty. Both countries abolish the duty on tin and tin plates and on barbed-wire fencing, all forming the basis of a considerable trade. The agreement provides that print paper is to become free on the removal of all restriction now on the exportation of pulp wood. Canada reduces to the United States rate her former duties on agricultural implements. She also reduces the duty on coal and cement, and the United States does the same on iron ore and dressed lumber. Furthermore, there will be reductions to the same level on canned food products and other food stuffs partly manufactured. The United States proposes to reduce the duties by a total of approximately \$5,000,000, and Canada by \$2,500,000. The

value of articles imported into the United States affected by the reciprocity agreement is approximately \$47,000,000, and the value of articles imported into Canada from the United States affected by the agreement is slightly over \$47,000,000.

*Opinion at
Home
and Abroad*

Three countries have been deeply interested in this effort of the American and Canadian peoples to come to a reasonable and mutually satisfactory trade agreement. The press of the United States, of Canada and of Great Britain, during the days immediately following the passage of the reciprocity bill by the House of Representatives, teemed with comment pro and con, and with news despatches recounting the approval and opposition registered by political leaders, commercial organizations and prominent business interests in all three countries. There can be no doubt that the proposed tariff has interested the American people. They understand it as they have, perhaps, seldom understood a tariff bill before. It directly affects them as consumers, because it reduces import duties on articles of universal consumption. As to the political party disapproval of the tactics of the administration in forcing through the measure we have already spoken. The opposition to the bill as a trade agreement has come mainly from four sources: the makers of print paper, who fear a loss of profit; New England fishermen, who apprehend injury to their business from Canadian competition; and an uncertain but probably large number of farmers, and some politicians. The lumber interests also are against it. Among the organizations which, up to the middle of last month, had openly declared their opposition were the National Grange and other agricultural societies, and a number of chambers of commerce and several political leaders, including Speaker Cannon.

*Conflicting
New England
Views*

Only a few of the opponents of the present agreement maintain that it will prove injurious to the country at large. They do claim, however, that it will be bad for farmers and lumber dealers and that it will upset conditions along the Canadian boundary and inflict a certain amount of damage, as yet unascertained, upon the border interests. But even the border States do not quite agree as to the injurious effect predicted. While flags were at half mast in Gloucester harbor, in the town itself there were those who maintained that the new order would be a good thing for the fishing business.

Governor Foss, of Massachusetts, and most of the representatives of that State in Congress, are heartily in accord with the new policy. Mr. Foss sent a special letter to the Legislature urging it to draw up a memorial to Congress on behalf of reciprocity. Senator Hale is quoted as believing that Maine's prosperity will be imperiled by the free admission of Canadian products. On the other hand, the city of Portland has declared its approval, and the Maine Legislature has passed resolutions commending reciprocity.

Eminent Testimony in Favor

The measure, moreover, has had the earnest championship of Secretary Knox, who negotiated the agreement, Secretary Wilson, Senator Beveridge and Speaker-to-be Champ Clark. Secretary Wilson, whose words go a long way with the farmers of the country, in an open letter last month to the legislative committee of the National Grange of New Hampshire, told the farmers that they should favor reciprocity. He declared that the United States can with profit and benefit take all the grain that Canada has to sell and devote its own lands to less exhausting crops. Senator Beveridge, in a speech in the Senate on February 9, contended that the greatest benefit of the agreement lay in "its effectiveness in preventing increase in the cost of living and the manipulation of food products." Speaking of the objections the Senator declared further, that "even if they were valid, instead of groundless, all of them put together are a small matter when compared with getting this fundamental and truly national policy established." At the Pan-American Commercial Conference on February 13, Mr. Clark, who will be the next Speaker of the House of Representatives, said: "I am for reciprocity, not only with Canada, but with all the South and Central American republics. My principle is that honest trade never hurt any nation."

Canada's Attitude

The attitude of the Dominion Government toward reciprocity with the United States was first officially indicated in a speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Premier, in September last, in the course of which he said:

I believe it is possible to make a treaty with the United States which will not only be of great advantage to us, but equally so to the United States, and I would not have a treaty which was not at least equally profitable to one as to the other. . . . We are asked on either hand by different interests for free trade and protection. It will be our aim to evolve a tariff calculated to benefit the

whole country. The cardinal feature and outstanding principle of the tariff is the British preference, and so long as we stay in office it will remain. It is not the policy of the Canadian Government to ask Great Britain to change her fiscal policy by an iota. We make our own interests, so with Great Britain. The loyalty of Canada to the British Empire is not dependent upon any tariff relations.

We have recorded, from time to time, in these pages, the progress and changes in sentiment on the question of reciprocity among Canadian leaders and commercial interests. It will be remembered that while the negotiations were in progress at Ottawa last fall, several delegations of farmers, representing the large and powerful agricultural interests of the great Canadian west, came to the capital and urged upon the Premier the desirability of reciprocity with the United States. It will be remembered also that a number of the conservative interests of the Eastern provinces, including the coal miners' associations of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island, strongly opposed the idea.

Official and Otherwise

One of the most vigorous opponents of reciprocity is Mr. R. S. Borden, leader of the opposition in Parliament. His contention is that the present agreement must inevitably tend "to negative the quarter of a century of effort on the part of Canada to build up trade along east and west lines instead of north and south lines, and to destroy the effects of the efforts of the Canadian statesmen and railroad builders of the last twenty-five years." The other side is presented in a vigorous cable despatch, sent on February 8, to Lord Strathcona, Canadian High Commissioner in London, by Minister Fielding. He said:

In making such an arrangement we are realizing the desires of our people for half a century and also that in promoting friendly relations with the neighboring republic we are doing the best possible service to the empire. Canada is seeking markets everywhere for her surplus products, subsidizing steamship lines and sending out commercial agents. Would it not be ridiculous in the pursuit of such a policy to refuse to avail herself of the markets of the great nation lying alongside?

Keen British Interest

An unexpected amount of interest has been manifested in England. When the terms of the agreement were presented in the legislatures of the United States and Canada, a flood of comment was let loose in the British press. In general it may be said that the Liberals and their allies, who favor the maintenance of the present policy of free trade in England, approve of the measure, while the Conserva-

tives and the rest of the opposition, including many of the manufacturers of the United Kingdom, look upon it as a menace to British interests. In the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Austen Chamberlain and a number of other "Tariff Reformers" made vigorous speeches denouncing the reciprocity idea, and contending that the conclusion of the agreement "would have the most disastrous consequences for the future of the Empire." In the Upper House Lord Lansdowne claimed that reciprocity "surely means a detriment to British trade and the deflection of Canadian wheat supply to the United States." The whole history of the Empire is altered, he said, "if the great dominions are encouraged to develop, not on national and imperial lines, but in accord with geographical lines."

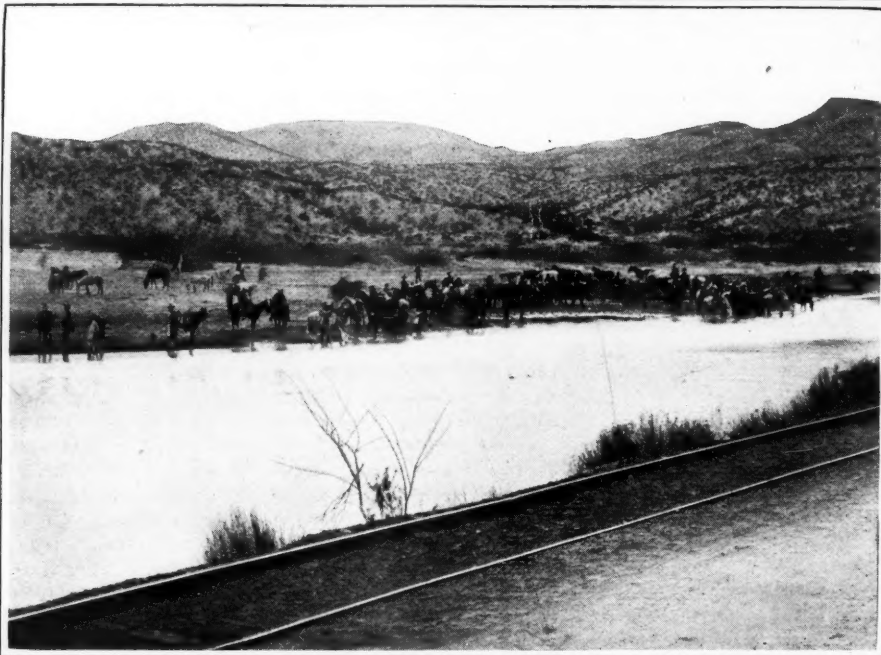
Of course there never was in the ^{As to} "Annexation" minds of the negotiators of this agreement any notion of its adoption leading to a radical change in Canada's political relationship to the United States—indiscreet public utterances of prominent American statesmen to the contrary, notwithstanding. Secretary Knox, in a spirited address at Chicago, on February 15, set forth with great clearness and positiveness the view of the United States Government on this point. He said in part:

The United States recognizes with satisfaction that the Dominion of Canada is a permanent North American political unit, and that her autonomy is secure. . . . There is not the slightest probability that this racial and moral union will involve any political change or annexation or absorption. It is an ethnological fact that political units of the English-speaking people never lose their autonomy. . . . In the higher atmosphere and broader aspects of the situation it is certain that if there should be any great world movement involving this continent Canada and the United States would, as a matter of course, act in the most perfect concert in defense of the common rights of a common blood and civilization.

^{Effect on British Politics} Several interpellations were made in the House of Commons. One member demanded that the Colonial Secretary request Canada to postpone ratification of the agreement until after the coming imperial conference has been held. Another inquired whether the British Cabinet had been consulted and whether, under the new arrangement, the United Kingdom would be able to send her products to American markets at the same rate as Canadian manufacturers will send theirs. In a general reply to the opposition speeches, including the

interpellations, the Prime Minister stated that the government would not ask Canada to postpone ratification, that Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador at Washington, had "carefully watched the progress of the agreement on behalf of British interests, but had not assisted therein," and that Britain's preferential agreement with the Dominion gave her no privileges in American markets. He concluded by saying that the present government could do nothing by preference or otherwise "to prevent the natural trend of events; the leveling of the tariff walls between Canada and the United States, which is inevitable." A test vote was then taken, and the government won by a majority of 102, the Irish and the Laborites sustaining Mr. Asquith. The division was taken on the opposition's amendment to the parliamentary address in reply to the speech from the throne. It was moved by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it urged "fiscal reform," with special reference to reciprocity between Canada and the United States.

^{Reciprocity vs. "Preference"} In England, it will be remembered, the question of trade under reciprocal concessions—fair trade, as it is generally called by Englishmen—has for some years been under discussion, and a long agitation has been carried on in favor of the substitution of reciprocity for the traditional policy of free trade. It is pointed out that a free-trade country can force no concessions from countries pursuing a protectionist policy. Reciprocity with the British colonies has been especially desired by British "Tariff Reformers," who see in such reciprocal concessions a step toward a complete customs union of the British empire. The principle of reduced duties toward "nation" members of the empire granting equivalent concessions was instituted by Canada in 1897; a rebate of 12½ per cent. being granted for one year to British goods, and of 25 per cent. after the expiration of one year. Equivalent concessions cannot be granted by Great Britain under the present free-trade policy; hence the development of a system of customs duties is a prerequisite to any considerable extension of reciprocity within the empire, or "preferential trade." The conservative press, led by the always anti-American *Saturday Review*, calls reciprocity, as at present arranged for, an American challenge to Britain and the beginning of the economic annexation of Canada by the United States. The Liberal press contends that the



Photograph from the American Press Association, N. Y.

MEXICAN "INSURRECTOES" WATERING THEIR HORSES IN THE RIO GRANDE OPPOSITE EL PASO
(These striking photographs of the insurrection in Mexico were taken last month, while actual fighting was taking place almost all along the border line)



Photograph from the American Press Association, N. Y.

WRECKING A TRAIN ON THE NATIONAL RAILROAD SOUTH OF JUAREZ



Photograph from the American Press Association, N. Y.
AN OFFICER OF THE UNITED STATES REGULARS
PATROLLING THE MEXICAN BORDER

agreement inflicts a serious blow to the idea of imperial preference, which was the cornerstone of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's entire scheme of tariff reform. The general Liberal point of view is summed up by the London *Daily Chronicle*, when it says:

In negotiating reciprocity with the United States, Canada is serving the cause of Britain, for this treaty, by removing causes of friction, and promoting in equal degree American and Canadian interests, will add a new factor to the many other factors that are at work to harmonize Anglo-American relations.

Mexico's Insurrec- tion

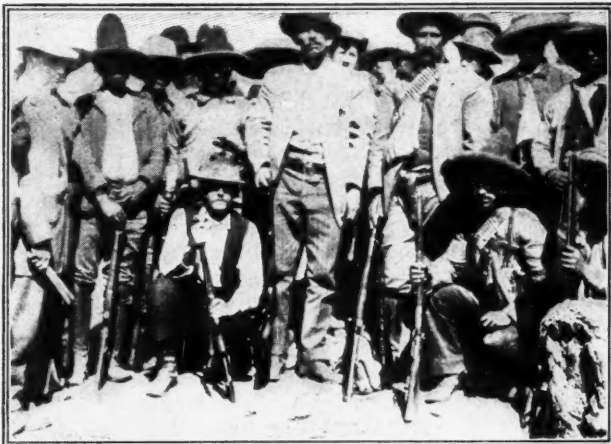
The Mexican insurrection spread over almost all the entire state of Chihuahua last month, and at

one time it seemed as though the revolutionary forces under command of General Pasquale Orozco, the youngest insurgent general (he is only twenty-eight), would not only capture the city of Juarez, but gain a measure of control of the entire north of the republic: Federal troops, however, were rushed to the scene, and Juarez, a town of about 10,000 inhabitants, across the Rio Grande River from El Paso, Texas, was not taken by the "Insurrectoes," although there was some serious fighting in which honors were about

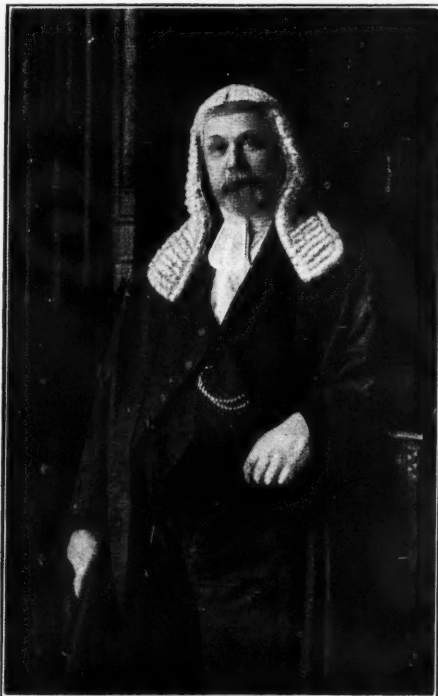
even. By the middle of last month it was believed that General Navarro, the Federal commander who has a thousand or more regulars with him, had control of the situation for the government. It was reported that Alberto Terrazas, Governor of the State of Chihuahua, had resigned, and that he had been succeeded by Miguel Ahumada, former Governor of Jalisco. As far as we can learn at this distance, Señor Terrazas has been very unpopular and weak as an administrator, whereas Señor Ahumada had a reputation for vigor and efficiency. In order to preserve order and protect American interests along the boundary line, a strong force of United States regulars, chiefly cavalry, were ordered southward from various points last month. One of these "Rough and Readys," as well as some of the picturesque "Insurrectoes," are shown in the photographs we reproduce on this and the preceding page.

The English Parliamentary Situation

The session of the British Parliament, which began on the last day of January, will be devoted mainly to the question of restricting the veto power of the House of Lords. During the opening hours Premier Asquith gave formal notice of his intention to claim the whole time of the House until the Easter recess (beginning on April 13), in order to get the veto bill disposed of before the coronation. Nothing except necessary financial measures will be permitted to interfere with the progress of the veto bill. At the same time Lord Lansdowne was stating in the upper house that the Peers are still ready to negotiate with the government on "the necessary changes in the con-



Photograph from the American Press Association, N. Y.
THE "REBEL" MEXICAN GENERAL OROZCO AND HIS STAFF



THE SPEAKER OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS
IN HIS OFFICIAL ROBES

(Right Hon. J. M. Lowther, who has been chosen Speaker
of the Commons. He was Speaker from 1895 to 1905)

stitution of the upper chamber and the relations between the two houses." If the Lords refuse to accept the government bill, Mr. Asquith has decided to demand the creation of 500 new peers, in order that the government measure may be passed. Early last month it was announced that King George had consented to give the Premier the guaranties demanded. No one, said Mr. Asquith, desires to see a wholesale creation of peers, but "the Ministry has determined that the decision of the voters, twice given, shall not be defeated, and it will not shrink, if extreme measures are adopted on the other side, from taking extreme measures for the protection of the sovereignty of the people." Just before his death, on January 26, Sir Charles Dilke, the leading independent Liberal in the House of Commons, and one of the most astute statesmen in that body for a generation, declared that, in his long experience, he had not known another Prime Minister who had such a united government at his back as has Mr. Asquith. With the Irish vote and the solid Laborite support, the present Liberal Ministry, twice endorsed by the voters at the

polls, will undoubtedly be able to carry out to a successful conclusion its program of many needed reforms.

*France's
Domestic
Problems*

Premier Briand continues to follow up his vigorous, courageous policies in French domestic and foreign affairs. We have referred, from time to time, in these pages, to the efforts made by the French General Confederation of Labor to bring about a general strike, in order to compel governmental compliance with certain economic demands, and to the confusion and disorder frequently resulting therefrom. Last month one of the conservative deputies introduced a resolution in the Chamber demanding that the government take steps to dissolve the General Confederation, or to compel it to respect the laws of the republic. This resolution gave the Premier an opportunity to explain the government's policy. The Confederation, he declared, was the result of the law of 1884 authorizing the creation of trade unions in France. This policy, of course, could not now be abandoned. The Confederation was founded for the perfectly legitimate purpose of securing a reduction of the hours of labor and improving the general conditions of the working classes. It has "gradually, however, fallen under the domination of fifteen or twenty agitators, and has been turned into a political machine advocating violence, sabotage and anti-militarism." These agitators, Premier Briand contends, do not represent the feelings of the more than 3000 members of the confederated trade and labor unions. The policy of the present government, he declares, "is to punish the unlawful acts of individuals, but not to attempt any repressive legislation against the lawfully constituted labor unions."



THE QUESTION OF THE HOUR IN ENGLAND
JOHN BULL: "Shall I mend it or end it?"
From the *Spokesman Review* (Spokane)

*Her Position
in the
World Concert*

In foreign policies the position of France in regard to that general grouping known as the Triple Entente was made clear in a statement addressed on February 2, by M. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Senate. Referring to the now celebrated Potsdam interview between the German Kaiser and the Russian Czar, and the ambitious naval program of Austria, M. Pichon declared that the French Government had been well aware of the progress of the Russo-German negotiations, and was not in any way alarmed by them. It is "the duty of France to maintain conciliatory relations with the dual monarchy, while at the same time safeguarding the rights of Russia, her ally." As to Anglo-French relations, M. Pichon maintained that "the entente with England has never been more intimate and more complete than it is to-day." France's position in Morocco and in Central Africa, the Foreign Minister continued, is stronger than ever. Replying to the many critics of French foreign policies who are claiming that the republic has become isolated, M. Pichon would have it understood that "France is bound to Russia by an alli-

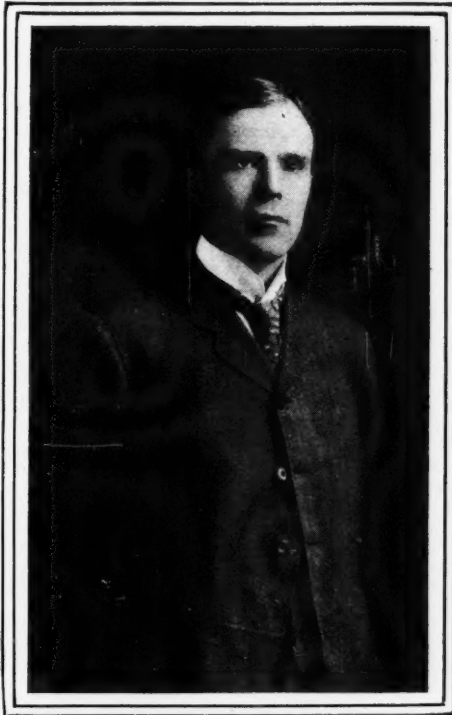
ance, to England by an entente, to Spain by special agreements, and to Japan by other arrangements. She entertains friendly relations with Italy. In short, the voice of France still counts in the councils of Europe."

*Spanish and
Portuguese
Affairs*

Although Spaniards and Portuguese differ slightly in their languages and have had certain divergences in their political history, geography and climate, race and religion have combined to present to them problems that are almost identical. What seriously affects one of necessity deeply concerns the other. The establishment of the republican régime in Portugal has not been without its influence on Spain. Just now, while the Portuguese republic is still on trial before the world and Europe is uncertain whether the democratic wave will also engulf Spain, the sketches of the ruling heads of the two countries we print this month will be interesting. Mr. Lambuth, who has long been a student of Portuguese life and thought, writes from Rio de Janeiro, whence, it will be remembered, he sent us the article on "Real Presidential Politics in Brazil" which we published in December last. Mr. Gordon is a traveler and lecturer of long experience, who knows his Spain thoroughly and sympathetically.

*Persian
Finances*

Late in October the British Foreign Office sent a note to Persia demanding that within three months the government at Teheran restore order on the southern trade routes leading to India. In case this was not done within the time stipulated, Great Britain reserved to herself the right to perform this police duty, and to hold Persia responsible for the expense incurred. In the beginning of last month another note was sent to Teheran calling attention to the unsatisfactory condition in the southern part of the country and demanding a more thorough policing of the region. Russia, which for many months had kept troops in the northern provinces of Persia, on the pretext of maintaining "security," finally consented, in the middle of last month, to recall her forces. Turkish outposts, however, are still on Persian soil, claiming that they are necessary to keep order. Public security, the first consideration of any government, requires an efficient military or police force, and the organization of such a force means a financial drain on such a country as Persia, where money is not plentiful. Foreign loans must be negotiated. The Persians, however, have learned from experience



Photograph by G. G. Bain, N. Y.

W. MORGAN SHUSTER, THE AMERICAN WHO IS TO BE
TREASURER-GENERAL OF PERSIA



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PERSIA'S REPRESENTATIVE AT WASHINGTON AND HIS FAMILY

(Mirza Ali Kuli Khan, Chargé d'Affaires of the Persian legation, who has been largely instrumental in the choice of the five Americans who are to reorganize Persian finances, with his American wife and family)

that financial assistance from Europe usually precedes political control.

*To Be
Reorganized
by Americans*

How shall this newly awakened Asiatic country be properly advised in the matter of its finances? Russia and Great Britain have suggested that Persia select financial advisers from Switzerland or some other neutral State. The late Minister of Finance, Sani ed Dowleh (who was assassinated on February 4) suggested French advisers. The Medjlis, or Persian Parliament, however, voted finally to appeal to the United States and to ask the government at Washington to choose five American experts who are to undertake the reorganization of the entire financial system of the country. The Persian Government, through its Chargé d'Affaires in Washington, Mirza Ali Kuli Khan, and with the assistance of the United States Government, finally selected Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, of Washington, to be Treasurer General; Frank E. Cairns to be Director

of Taxation; C. L. McCaskey, of New York, to be Inspector of Provincial Revenues; R. W. Halls, of Washington, to take charge of all auditing and accounting; and Bruce G. Dickey, of Minnesota, to be Inspector of Taxation. Mr. Shuster has been in the Customs Service in Cuba, he has been Collector of Customs for the Philippine Islands, Secretary of Public Instruction at Manila and a member of the Philippine Commission. The other gentlemen chosen have also had years of experience abroad in the service of the United States Government. They will be under the direction of the Persian Minister of Finance, and their contracts will be for the minimum period of three years. Mirza Ali Kuli Khan, who has had charge of Persian affairs at Washington for some months, is an excellent representative of the type of new Persian statesmen who are striving to bring the ancient Iranian monarchy abreast of the current of modern life and thought. Mirza Khan has an American wife.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From January 20 to February 17, 1911)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 20-21.—The Senate considers the resolution providing for the direct election of Senators. . . . The House debates the Post-Office appropriation bill.

January 24.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) speaks in favor of the Gallinger Ocean Mail Subvention bill. . . . The House passes the Post-Office appropriation bill.

January 25.—The Senate passes the Indian appropriation bill.

January 26.—The Senate passes the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill.

January 28.—In the House, Mr. McCall (Rep., Mass.) introduces the Canadian Reciprocity bill.

January 30.—The House passes the bill creating a permanent tariff board.

January 31.—The Senate passes the River and Harbor appropriation bill (\$36,000,000). . . . The House votes in favor of San Francisco as the proper place to hold the proposed Panama Canal Exposition.

February 2.—The Senate passes a substitute Ocean Mail Subvention bill offered by Mr. Gallinger (Rep., N. H.), the Vice-President casting the deciding vote. . . . The House considers the Agricultural appropriation bill.

February 3.—In the Senate, Mr. Root (Rep., N. Y.) urges that the election of Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.) be declared void.

February 7.—The Senate passes the Army appropriation bill. . . . The House passes the Lowden bill providing \$500,000 a year for the purchase of embassy buildings abroad.

February 8.—The Senate passes the bill codifying and amending the laws relating to the judiciary.

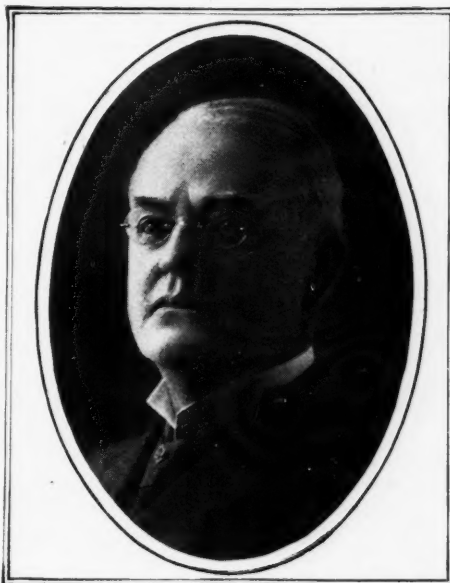
February 9.—In the Senate, Mr. Beveridge (Rep., Ind.) opens the debate on the Canadian reciprocity agreement, speaking in favor of it. . . . The House passes the Crumpacker reappointment bill, increasing its membership to 433.

February 10.—In the Senate, Mr. Root (Rep., N. Y.) opposes the proposed change in the method of electing Senators.

February 11.—The Senate adopts the resolution designating San Francisco as the place to hold the proposed Panama Canal Exposition. . . . The House passes the Agricultural appropriation bill.

February 14.—In the Senate, Mr. Bailey (Dem., Tex.) closes a two-days' speech in defense of Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.). . . . The House, by vote of 221 to 92, passes the Canadian Reciprocity bill.

February 15.—The Senate, in executive session, ratifies the convention signed at the second Hague Conference creating an international prize court; a bill providing for the purchase of forest reserves in the White Mountains and the Southwest Appalachians is passed. . . . The House amends the Moon Judiciary bill so as to increase the salary of Supreme Court justices.



HON. JOHN D. WORKS, SENATOR-ELECT FROM CALIFORNIA

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

January 19.—The Ohio House concurs with the Senate in approving the income-tax amendment to the federal Constitution. . . . The Kansas Legislature ratifies the proposed income-tax amendment.

January 21.—President Taft, speaking before the Pennsylvania Society at New York, sets forth the right of the United States to fortify the Panama Canal. . . . The voters of New Mexico, by a majority of 18,000, ratify the proposed State constitution. . . . William Barnes, Jr., is elected chairman of the New York Republican State Committee.

January 23.—After a deadlock lasting three weeks, the Tennessee Legislature elects Luke Lea (Independent Democrat) as United States Senator to succeed James B. Frazier. . . . The Republican Progressive League is organized at Washington and a declaration of principles is issued.

January 24.—The Nevada Legislature, Democratic on joint ballot, reelects to the United States Senate George S. Nixon (Rep.), who carried the primary. . . . The North Carolina Senate and the lower house of the Arkansas Legislature ratify the proposed income-tax amendment.

January 25.—The New Jersey Legislature elects James E. Martine, the Democratic primary choice, to succeed John Kean (Rep.) in the United States Senate. . . . Robert M. La Follette (Rep., Wis.), Henry A. du Pont (Rep., Del.), Clarence D. Clark (Rep., Wyo.), and Charles A. Culberson (Dem.,

(Tex.) are reelected to the United States Senate. . . . The income-tax amendment is ratified by the lower branch of the New Hampshire Legislature. . . . Benjamin W. Hooper, the first Republican Governor of Tennessee in thirty years, is inaugurated.

January 31.—Nathan P. Bryan (Dem.) is nominated for United States Senator in the second Florida primary. . . . Governor Johnson, of California, signs the Walker-Young anti-racetrack-gambling bill.

February 1.—The West Virginia legislators settle their disagreements and elect as United States Senators, William E. Chilton (Dem.) and Clarence W. Watson (Dem.), the latter to serve for the unexpired term of the late Stephen B. Elkins.

February 2.—The California Assembly approves an amendment, already passed by the Senate, which submits to a popular vote the question of woman suffrage. . . . Gifford Pinchot as president of the National Conservation Association, commends President Taft's water-power policy.

February 3.—The Philippine Assembly adjourns, leaving much important work unfinished.

February 4.—The West Virginia House of Delegates ratifies the income-tax amendment. . . . The National Grange plans a campaign against the proposed reciprocity treaty with Canada. . . . Postmaster-General Hitchcock decides to reorganize thoroughly the railway mail service.

February 7.—At a special election, Mayor Gill, of Seattle, is "recalled," and George W. Dilling is chosen to succeed him.

February 8.—A constitutional amendment granting the suffrage to women for all offices except that of President, having previously passed the Kansas House, is passed by the Senate.

February 9.—The proposed constitution for Arizona is ratified by a vote of about 12,000 to 3500.

February 10.—President Taft, speaking at Columbus, Ohio, maintains that the reciprocity agreement with Canada would be a benefit to the American farmer. . . . Governor Colquitt, of Texas, signs the joint resolution which calls for submitting to the voters the question of statewide prohibition.

February 11.—The grand jury investigating vote-selling in Scioto County, Ohio, returns indictments against forty-one persons.

February 13.—Postmaster-General Hitchcock issues a statement defending the proposed increase in magazine postage.

February 15.—More than 200 citizens of Danville, Ill., have been indicted for vote-selling. . . . Secretary Knox and James J. Hill speak in favor of Canadian reciprocity before the Chicago Association of Commerce. . . . The New York Charter Revision Committee reports to the legislature a bill embodying its recommendations.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

January 20.—Ecuador declines to submit to the Hague Tribunal the boundary dispute with Peru.

January 24.—The Austrian budget provides for larger naval and military appropriations and for an increased consular service in the United States.

January 25.—The Belgian Minister of the Colonies reports great progress in the social and economic condition of the Congo Independent State.

January 27.—The twenty-three officers and sailors of the Haitian gunboat *Liberté*, who survived its sinking, are convicted of mutiny and condemned to death.

January 29.—The Mexican insurgents capture Mexicala, near the California boundary. . . . The Portuguese Government grants a pension of \$3300 monthly to the deposed King Manuel.

January 30.—The students of Cracow University (Austria), protesting against the appointment of a German professor, refuse to attend their classes, and the Government orders the institution closed.

January 31.—The second Parliament of King George assembles.

February 1.—The German Reichstag passes the Unearned Increment bill. . . . The Governor of Ispahan, Persia, and his nephew are shot by a Russian.

February 2.—A revolution is begun along the northern coast of Haiti.

February 4.—The Persian Minister of Finance is killed by Armenians in the streets of Teheran.

February 5.—General Guillaume, a leader of the revolt in Haiti, is captured by Government troops and shot. . . . Mexican troops enter the city of Juarez after repulsing an attack by the insurgents under Orozco.

February 6.—King George formally opens the British Parliament; Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Balfour, leaders of the Opposition, denounce the proposed reciprocity agreement between Canada and the United States.

February 7.—General Millionard, head of the Haitian revolutionary forces, is executed by the Government troops.

February 8.—After two days' fighting near Mulata, the Mexican troops are repulsed, with forty killed and wounded. . . . Twenty-five hundred students of the University of St. Petersburg strike in protest against Government restrictions. . . . A vote in the British House of Commons upon a question of fiscal reform, with special reference to the proposed reciprocity agreement between Canada and the United States, indicates that that body favors the agreement. . . . Finance Minister Fielding declares that the Canadian Parliament will ratify the reciprocity agreement with the United States without delay.

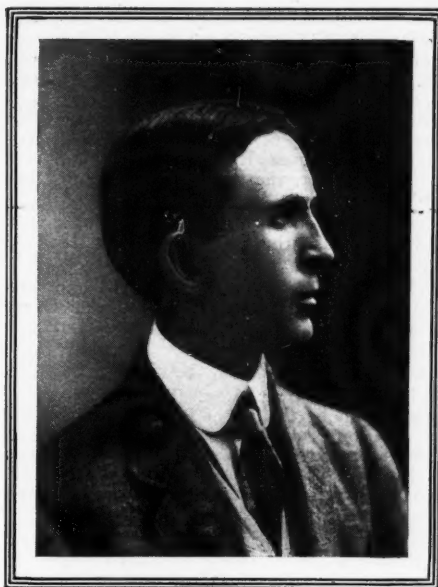
February 10.—The French Senate passes the bill changing the time in France approximately ten minutes, to agree with that of the rest of Western Europe. . . . Timothy Healy wins his fight to nullify the election of Richard Hazleton from Louth, Ireland.

February 11.—It is announced that the Japanese Emperor has given \$750,000 for the relief of the poor.

February 13.—An explosion in the government barracks at Managua, Nicaragua, destroys a large quantity of arms and ammunition; President Estrada declares the country under martial law and orders the arrest of many high officials and citizens.

February 16.—General Navarro, leader of the Mexican government forces, places Juarez under martial law and takes possession of the railway; an attack is made upon the insurgents at Mexicala without success.

February 17.—Emperor William, in an address at Berlin, urges reclamation of land for grazing.



GOV. BENJAMIN HOOPER, OF TENNESSEE

(The first Republican Governor of his State in thirty years, inaugurated on January 25)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

January 20.—The commissioners of the United States and Canada reach a reciprocity agreement at Washington, the principle of which is the exchange of Canadian foodstuffs for American manufactured commodities.

January 22.—The United States Government offers its services to settle the boundary dispute between Haiti and Santo Domingo.

January 23.—China appeals for assistance in scientifically combating the bubonic plague.

January 24.—Santo Domingo is urged by the United States to seek an amicable adjustment of its boundary dispute with Haiti. . . . Count Komura, in a speech in the lower house of the Diet, outlines the peaceful aims of Japan.

January 25.—Four troops of American cavalry are sent to points on the Rio Grande to preserve neutrality in the Mexican revolution.

January 26.—The reciprocity agreement between the United States and Canada is submitted to the legislative bodies of both countries.

January 27.—Peru and Ecuador make countercharges of invasion of the frontier; several men are killed near the border. . . . Crowds in Guayaquil, Ecuador, protest against the proposed lease of the Galapagos Islands to the United States for a naval station.

January 29.—President Alfaro, of Ecuador, is forced by popular disapproval to abandon the plan to lease the Galapagos Islands to the United States.

February 1.—The Honduran government troops evacuate Puerto Cortez, leaving the town in the hands of American and British marines.

February 2.—The Honduran Congress refuses to approve President Davilla's negotiations for an

American loan of \$1,000,000. . . . The Persian parliament votes to engage five American financial advisers.

February 3.—At the request of President Davilla, President Taft tenders the services of the United States to assist in restoring peace in Honduras. . . . The United States Government announces its readiness to assist in combating the plague in China if its services are desired.

February 8.—President Davilla, of Honduras, and General Bonilla, the revolutionary leader, agree to an armistice at the suggestion of the United States.

February 9.—Great Britain and Austria-Hungary agree to submit to the Hague Tribunal any dispute over an existing treaty that cannot be settled by diplomacy.

February 10.—It is announced at Washington that W. Morgan Shuster will be appointed treasurer-general of Persia to reorganize its finances.

February 13.—President Taft designates John Hays Hammond as special ambassador to attend the coronation of King George of England.

February 15.—It is announced at Washington that contracts have been signed for a \$7,500,000 American loan to Honduras.

February 16.—Russia decides to make a military demonstration against China on the common frontier because of alleged violations of the St. Petersburg treaty of 1881.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

January 20.—The bubonic plague spreads throughout Manchuria and Northern China. . . . Andrew Carnegie makes an additional gift of \$10,000,000 to the Carnegie Institution at Washington. . . . Forty Polish coal miners lose their lives in a fire near Sosnowicz.

January 22.—P. O. Parmalee, using a Wright machine, establishes a new American endurance record of 3 hours and 40 minutes at San Francisco.

January 23.—Madame Curie is defeated for membership in the French Academy of Sciences.

January 25.—John P. White, of Iowa, is chosen president of the United Mine Workers of America.

January 26.—Glenn H. Curtiss, at San Diego, Cal., demonstrates the ability of aeroplanes to rise from and alight on the water.

January 28.—The Diamond Match Company agrees to the cancelation of its patent for a harmless substitute for the poisonous white phosphorus, thereby permitting its general use.

January 30.—An eruption of Mount Taal, on the island of Luzon, accompanied by a tidal wave and a series of earthquakes, causes the death of 700 persons. . . . In an attempt to fly from Key West to Havana (approximately 100 miles apart), J. A. D. McCurdy is forced to drop into the sea with his machine when within six miles of the Cuban coast.

February 1.—An explosion of many tons of dynamite and black powder at the freight terminal of the Central Railroad of New Jersey, opposite New York City, kills thirty workmen, destroys a pier and two vessels, and damages property for many miles. . . . The British super-Dreadnought *Thunderbolt* is launched in the Thames.

February 2.—Captain Bellingier, a French army aviator, finishes his flight from Vincennes to Pau,

his actual flying time for the 493 miles being 7 hours and 14 minutes; at Pau, LeMartin carries seven passengers for a short flight in his machine.

February 3.—The centenary of the birth of Horace Greeley is celebrated at many places throughout the country.

February 4.—Eight officials of the Jersey Central Railroad and the Du Pont Powder Company are arrested for responsibility for the recent dynamite explosion.

February 5.—The bubonic plague has caused the death of nearly 6000 Chinese and Russians in and around Harbin. . . . A fishing village of 250 inhabitants established on the ice near Helsingfors, Finland, is carried by a gale into the sea. . . . The funeral of Paul Singer, the German Socialist, is attended by many thousands.

February 9.—Count Albert Apponyi, the Hungarian statesman and peace advocate, addresses the House of Representatives at Washington.

February 10.—The American consul at Shanghai appeals to the Red Cross for aid in fighting the plague, stating that 2,000,000 persons are in danger of starving.

February 16.—Thirty-five professors of the University of Moscow resign in protest against the removal of the rector.

February 17.—It is stated that the Viceroy of Manchuria estimates the fatalities from the plague at 65,000, with 10,000 deaths from starvation.

OBITUARY

January 20.—Ex-Congressman Solomon R. Dreser, of Pennsylvania, 69. . . . Rev. Dr. William Heth Whitsett, formerly president of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 70.

January 21.—Rev. Austin W. Mann, of Cleveland, a deaf-mute minister and organizer of "silent missions," 70.

January 24.—David Graham Phillips, the novelist, 43 (see page 354). . . . Rear-Adm. William H. Reeder, U. S. N., retired, 62. . . . Rev. Edward F. Atwill, Protestant Episcopal bishop of Western Missouri, 70. . . . Charles Barr, the noted yacht skipper, 46.

January 26.—Sir Charles Dilke, a prominent leader of the Liberal party in England, 68.

January 27.—Read-Adm. David B. Macomb, U. S. N. retired, 84. . . . Joseph W. Reinhart, formerly president of the Santa Fé Railroad, 59. . . . Mrs. Ella Knowles Haskell, of Montana, a noted woman lawyer, 46.

January 28.—Mrs. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, the author, 66 (see page 355). . . . Henry M. Nevius, formerly commander-in-chief of the G. A. R. . . . John MacWhirter, the English painter, 74. . . . Rev. Dr. John Lemley, an editor of religious publications, 67. . . . Col. Edward L. Russell, vice-president of the Mobile & Ohio Railway, 65.

January 29.—Rev. R. DeWitt Mallory, president of the American International College, 60. . . . Sir William Henry Wills, Baron Winterstoke, the English tobacco manufacturer, 80. . . . John

Lockwood Kipling, the English architectural sculptor and illustrator of his son's books, 73.

January 30.—Rear Adm. Edmund O. Matthews, U. S. N. retired, 75. . . . Col. David Blount Hamilton, of Georgia, formerly prominent in politics and education, 76. . . . Rev. Dr. John Mason Ferris, formerly Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church, 87. . . . Calvin B. Orcutt, the prominent Newport News ship-builder, 63.

January 31.—Prof. James A. Harrison, a well-known Virginia author and educator, 62. . . . Paul Singer, the German socialist, 67.

February 1.—Rear-Adm. Charles Stillman Sperry, U. S. N. retired, 63. . . . Dr. John Henry Harpster, of Philadelphia, a noted Lutheran minister, 67.

February 2.—Jan Koert, the violinist.

February 4.—Right Rev. Thomas Bonacum, Roman Catholic Bishop of Lincoln, 64. . . . Gen. Piet A. Cronje, the Boer leader in the war with England. . . . Owen Kildare, author of books about the slums of New York, 46. . . . Andrew C. Welch, senior reporter of debates in the House of Representatives, 66.

February 5.—Francis Philip Nash, professor emeritus of Latin at Hobart College, 75.

February 6.—Prof. Leonard P. Kinnicutt, of Massachusetts, an expert on sewerage disposal and water supply, 57.

February 8.—Frederick Archibald Vaughan Campbell, Earl Cawdor, formerly first Lord of the British Admiralty, 64.

February 9.—Bishop Ozi W. Whitaker, of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Pennsylvania, 80. . . . Rear-Adm. Silas W. Terry, U. S. N. retired, 68.

February 10.—Dr. Edward Gamaliel Janeway, of New York, the noted teacher and practitioner of medicine, 69. . . . Ex-Gov. Hiram A. Tuttle, of New Hampshire, 73. . . . James Elverson, proprietor of the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, 73.

February 11.—Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan, of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, 79. . . . Brig.-Gen. Joseph Rowe Smith, U. S. A. retired, 80. . . . Baron Albert von Rothschild, the Vienna banker, 67.

February 12.—Gen. Alexander S. Webb, formerly President of the College of the City of New York, and commander of a brigade at Gettysburg, 76. . . . Milton J. Durham, comptroller of the Treasury under President Cleveland, 87.

February 13.—Justice Edwin A. Jaggard, of the Minnesota Supreme Court, 52. . . . Rev. Dr. Erskine Norman White, secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Church Election, 77. . . . Brig.-Gen. Peter Leary, Jr., U. S. A. retired, 70.

February 15.—Prof. Edward Hitchcock, of Amherst College, a pioneer advocate of physical education, 83. . . . Dr. Maurice Flugel, of Baltimore, a noted historian and scientist, 78. . . . Henry Richardson Chamberlain, London correspondent of the *New York Sun*, 52.

February 16.—Rear-Adm. William Strong Bogert, U. S. N. retired, 74. . . . Rear-Adm. Arthur P. Nazro, U. S. N. retired, formerly medical director, 63. . . . Mrs. Alice Morse Earle, the author, 57.

RECIPROCITY AND OTHER TOPICS IN THE MONTH'S CARTOONS



OVERLOOKING AN OPPORTUNITY

If these two neighbors would lower their glasses they might find the market they're looking for nearer home
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



PRESIDENT TAFT DEMONSTRATING HIS ABILITY TO
KNOCK "THE BEST TARIFF EVER" SO FAR
THAT IT WILL NEVER BE FOUND AGAIN
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)

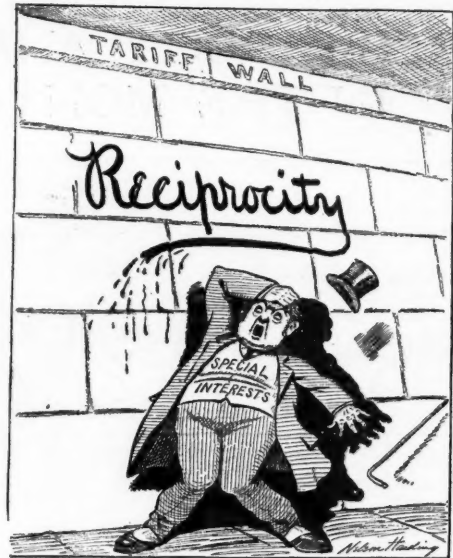


THE AMERICAN FARMER: "Reciprocity with Canada won't hurt me. The trusts control the accumulation and distribution of the crops, robbing me and the consumer alike and fixing the cost of living without any reference to the actual production."

From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane)



NOT FULL ENOUGH FOR SENATOR CUMMINS
From the *Herald* (New York)



THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

Senator Cummins, of Iowa, who was a famous advocate of reciprocity with Canada before its present sponsors had thought of the subject, has now the audacity to declare that the mere label "Reciprocity" is not quite enough, and that he may properly ask what there is in the basket. The first cartoon on

this page refers to that fact. The last one on the page, from the *New York Tribune*, puts Speaker Cannon in a very accurate light. It is true that he thought the jamming of the reciprocity bill through his own House, without chance for debate, was a very improper thing. It was a case of the Rules



UNCLE SAM: "ALL THAT I NEED IS A STARTER, WILLIAM"
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)



"SCANDALOUS DOIN'S, THAT'S WHAT I CALL 'EM"
From the *Tribune* (New York)



IT MAY BE FINE GOODS, BUT THEY ARE HAVING TROUBLE UNCORKING IT
From the American (Baltimore)



CROCODILE TEARS
From the Journal (Detroit)

Committee obeying the White House rather than the Speaker or the majority party in their own body. The idea frequently expressed that any kind of a reciprocity treaty is a good thing, because it is a starter, was widely circulated last month, but quite invariably by those who had not gone into the merits of this particular agreement.



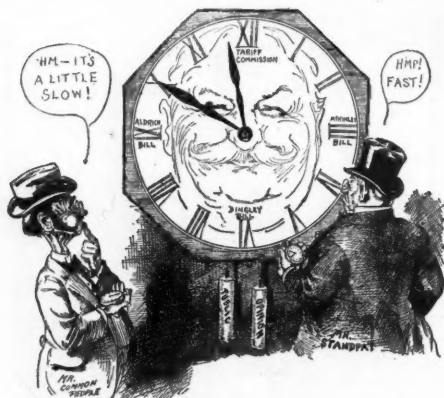
"COME IN!"

From the Post-Dispatch (St. Louis), and reprinted by the New Orleans Picayune



THE SINGERS

A Reciprocity duet, by President Taft and Sir Wilfrid Laurier
From the Leader (Cleveland)



MOVING AROUND TO A TARIFF COMMISSION
From the *North American* (Philadelphia)



WHAT HE NEEDS IS REDUCTION ANTI-FAT
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)



THE MODEST M. D.
From the *Tribune* (South Bend)

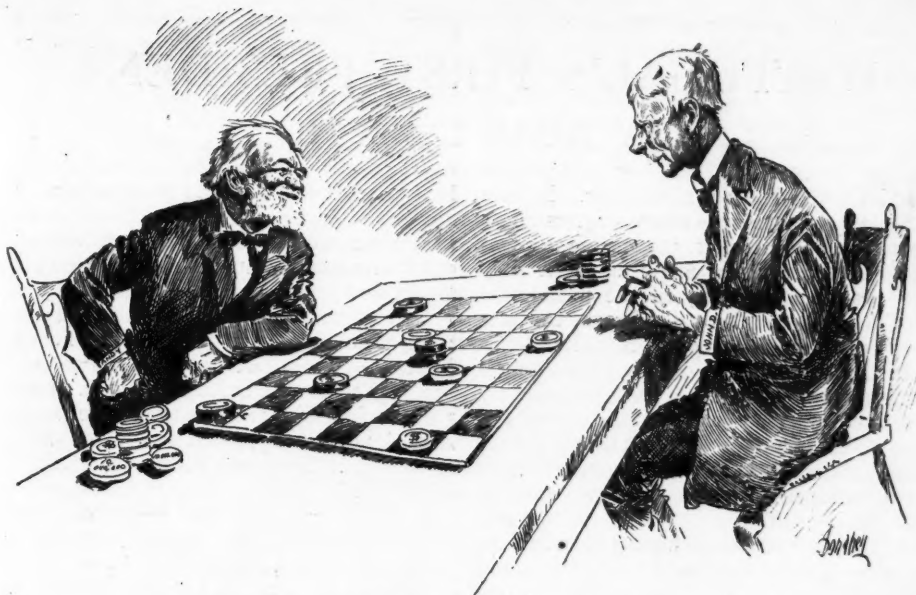


UNCLE SAM WILL GUARD THE CANAL
From the *Post* (Pittsburg)

Fortification, or neutralization,—that has been the question as regards the Panama Canal, the Administration urging the first course, and the peace advocates strongly favoring the second. Last month the Senate passed an ocean mail subvention bill, Vice-President Sherman casting the deciding vote. The cartoon representing a very much enlarged Congress refers to the Crumpacker bill passed by the House, which increases the membership from 391 to 433.



AT LAST
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)



MR. CARNEGIE TO MR. ROCKEFELLER: "IT'S YOUR MOVE, JOHN!"
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)

Mr. Carnegie recently added ten millions of dollars to the fund of the Carnegie Institution at Washington. It is now Mr. Rockefeller's "move," according to the cartoon, if there is any real rivalry in the gift-giving game between these two princely benefactors. The Mt. Wilson Observatory in California, conducted under the supervision of the Carnegie Institution, has been the means of discovering no less than sixty thousand more suns and stars. Count Apponyi, the noted Hungarian peace advocate, has been visiting the United States—hence the cartoonist

couples him with Mr. Carnegie, the great American peace advocate.



PEACE UPON YE!
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)



LOOKING FOR OTHER WORLDS TO CONQUER
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

PORTUGAL'S FIRST PRESIDENT

BY DAVID LAMBUTH

"I BEGAN life as a dreamer. I have always remained more or less of a dreamer. Nevertheless, dreams are, for certain temperaments, a force; at least they keep us from brooding on the miseries of life." So wrote Theophilo Braga, the first President of the Portuguese republic.

In the case of Braga dreams have unquestioningly proven a force of extraordinary magnitude. A republic was his lifelong dream. And he has helped to dream it true. But he dreamed also of a better education, of a wider scope for his energies, even of literary success. The little island forty-one miles long and less than ten wide where he was born had become too small a field for his ambitions and his enthusiasms. At eighteen he left São Miguel for the mainland with a purpose already fixed and with aspirations strangely sure considering the chaos of contemporary Portuguese thought. Going straight to the University of Coimbra, he entered the law course. Then, as now, in Portuguese countries this was the entrance to literary as well as political life. There, while supporting himself by tutoring and translating, he found time not only to attend his classes and follow with the most intense interest the literary movements of the day, but also to pursue investigations of his own, to write articles and even books, and to compose poetry.

This lifelong republican—Joaquim Theophilo Braga—was born on February 24, 1843, in Ponto Delgada, the largest town of São Miguel, the largest island of the Azores, and the grimness of those bald volcanic hills seems to have entered into his blood. His father, an artillery officer in the cause of Don Miguel, the Pretender, when the case became hopeless, betook himself to teaching mathematics and later secured the chair of logic and geometry in the Lyceum of Ponto Delgada. It helps to explain the humanitarian passion of his son to know that, ill paid as he was, and crowded for room, this professor of logic gathered certain of the poorer students into his house and divided his little with them.

At fourteen he set out on his first literary venture, a weekly paper, the *Meteor*, of which he was at once publisher, author, compositor, and newsboy. Soon afterward it became necessary for Theophilo to go into

the typesetting business in good earnest as a means of earning a livelihood, but in his spare hours, which were few enough, he went on with his literary studies, reading widely in history and romance, but more especially in verse, and writing poems which in his sixteenth year (1859) were published as "Folhas Verdes"—"Green Leaves." The verse, it is true, was somewhat halting, the style imitative, the ideas for the most part the poetic banalities of the day, but it was full of vigorous promise. Two years later he entered the university.

In many respects it was a day of inspiration. Victor Hugo, Musset, Michelet, Proudhon, Hegel, Kant—such men were dominating the student thought of Europe. It was a period of metaphysical revolution, of conflict between dogmatic and natural religion, of an immense humanitarian awakening. Hugo and Vigny, he says, taught him that "poetry was not merely a personal thing in which to sing of sorrows and golden hair, but something reaching further, touching even philosophy itself." Recoiling from the university's almost mediæval ideas of literature and science and from the mere pleasure-loving indifference of the students around him, young Theophilo threw himself ardently into the new movement and wrote "The Vision of the Times," a poem that created an immense sensation among the thinking public of Portugal.

The triumph brought some recognition but no money. Theophilo was not for a moment turned from his laborious work. The publication was followed by four others in rapid succession, forming altogether an epic of humanity set forth in a series of what he calls "myths" representing various epochs of historical evolution. In contrast with his "Green Leaves" the ideas are original, the scope large, the strophes sonorous, and through them flashes always a high enthusiasm.

Wrapped in his worn scholastic gown of yellow, with no real patrons and few friends, living in the tiny room he secured in return for his teaching, translating Chateaubriand to feed himself, sometimes subsisting on 60 reis (or about six cents) a day, he faced the opposition that his poems had brought upon him. "There were days when I had nothing

to eat. There were weeks when anything hot was an unwonted luxury."

In 1867 Theophilo Braga graduated in law and the next year took his Doctor's degree with honor. The faculty was minded to offer him a place among them, but the prejudices aroused by his literary revolt, his republicanism and his lack of influential friends made it impossible. He refused to go into the practice of law, but by teaching and writing managed to secure some sort of a living, marrying meanwhile, in 1870, a woman who appears to have been a congenial and appreciative helpmeet. While at the university, Theophilo's study of the development of poetry and history in a somewhat synthetic fashion led naturally to a new phase of interest which dates from the publication, in 1867, of a "History of Portuguese Law" and led him into an extensive study of origins, of folk literature. In addition to other incidental work, he published from 1867 to 1869 a collection of Portuguese ballads in ten volumes, also studies of native romances and Azorian songs. From 1870 to 1880

he was engaged upon his monumental "History of Portuguese Literature," an exhaustive and illuminating collection of facts to a considerable extent new, set forth in a comparative method then unknown in Portugal, and marked with a sureness of critical judgment that placed its author at the head of the literary men of the day in his own country.

In 1871 he was chosen, after much opposition, to the chair of Modern Literature in the so-called Superior Course of Letters in Lisbon. The next year he began the most active and far-reaching work of his career. Comte's "Outline of Positive Philosophy" by accident fell into his hands, and brought

about a complete mental revolution. He set about with infinite labor to rearrange his ideas and to supply certain deficiencies in his knowledge of abstract and natural sciences. At the same time he went on with his lectures and also published in 1876 his "History of Romanticism." Meanwhile he was also getting out an elementary grammar, a "Portuguese Anthology," a "Modern Portuguese Parnassus" and other minor works.

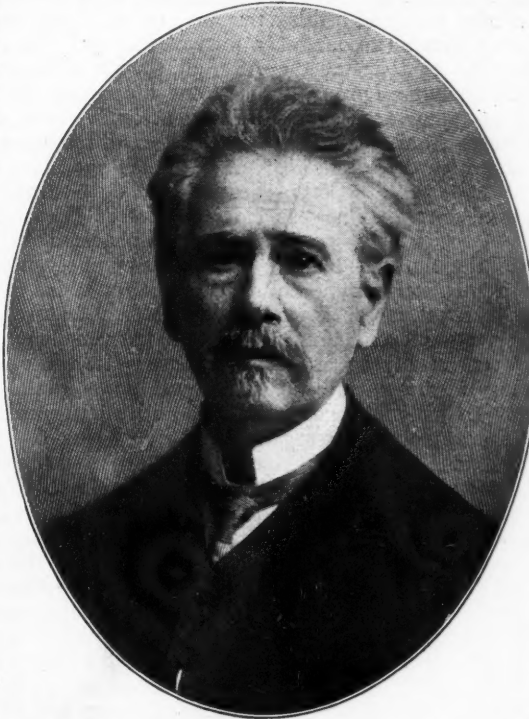
In 1879 he entered the new field publicly with the publication of his "General Outline

of Positive Philosophy," a résumé and exposition of the doctrines of Comte. In the same year came the first volume of his "Universal History," the beginning of a monumental work on applied sociology. His "System of Sociology" followed in 1884, and these books, together with the journal *Positivism*, which he helped to edit, were more responsible than the work of any other man for the tremendous spread of Positivism with its attendant republicanism throughout Portugal and Brazil. Braga by many has been called the father

of two republics. Says Teixeira Bastos, his friend and biographer of these works:

The "Outline" and the "Universal History" are the most notable books in the field of philosophy and sociology that have been written in the Portuguese language, and mark a most significant point in the intellectual development of the country.

From his earliest years Theophilo had written for republican publications. In 1875 he associated himself with a republican group. When the monarchical elements discovered among them created a disturbance, the party was broken up and the sincere republicans were expelled or retired to wait for



PRESIDENT BRAGA, OF THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC

better times. Among these was Braga, who kept out of political affairs until 1878, when a new party was formed and he was offered the candidacy for deputy. As a platform he issued a "Demand" for the improvement and guarantee of the franchise and set forth the aspirations of the Federal Republican party: "Liberty of conscience, of teaching, of the press, of worship, of meeting; rights of association, of representation; freedom of election, of industry, of commerce and of contract, and the rights of property." He promised to maintain absolute independence of the monarchical party, to refer proposed legislation to the voters and to give a full account of the legislative transactions to them at the close of every term. Braga himself proposed and developed this program and subsequently refused to swerve from it a tittle. "Principles first of all. Men come and go. Ideas remain eternal and pure." Consequently, it was not until 1910 that he was elected deputy.

Braga soon became the natural, logical leader of the Portugal Republican party. In public gatherings, in political meetings, in scholarly discussions, in republican journals and in the vast numbers of his books he has stood for the cause in season and out with fearless bravery. In his "Dissolution of the Constitutional Monarchical System," published in 1881, he points out unhesitatingly the anachronisms of his old enemies; monarchy and the Roman hierarchy, which he regards as the greatest foes of modern society. In the collection of his articles and speeches entitled "Positivistic Solutions of Portuguese Politics" he lays bare as with a surgeon's knife the facts of the social and political life of the day. They are, perhaps, the most revolutionary books that have appeared in Portugal.

"Theophilo Braga," says Bastos, from whom I have already quoted, "has been nothing less than a revolution in Portuguese society, a revolution in art, a revolution in history, in criticism, in philosophy, in customs, in the formulas of society. And he is also the hope of the nation's future."

Making all allowance for Portuguese exaggeration, there is profound truth in the statement. Forced to be superficial by reason of the extent and haste of his work—he is the author of over 130 books—he has yet thrown himself heroically into the struggle to tear off outworn forms and misleading classifications of the facts of society.

Quiet in manner, modest in dress, temperate in habits, retiring in disposition, yet when principle has been involved Theophilo Braga has proved also a flaming sword. Intellectually and morally it is right and logical that he should be the first Provisional President of the republic. As an executive and a man of action he has proven himself unexpectedly efficient—just how successful remains yet to be seen. He lacks the political expediency that may sometimes be necessary. Yet it may be that the grim determination of the Bragas, their stern honesty, their indomitable purpose, outweighing the perils that beset a man of thought, will carry him through. After all, the life of Theophilo Braga has not been one of passive intellectualism but of militant activity. And then, he has always been "a man of the people."

A few weeks ago I had a conversation with Senhor Luiz de Gonzaga Fernandez Braga, elder brother of Theophilo, who is the proprietor of a pharmacy here in Rio.

The old man of seventy-one leaned toward me over the rail of his counter. There were the same sturdy features, the same deep-set gray eyes, the same long face, made longer in appearance by its white upstanding hair, the same quiet power that has made Theophilo Braga a leader in the intellectual and political revolution of Portugal. As I looked into his eyes I was aware of the family's grim power of clinging tenaciously to a single idea. Theophilo and Gonzaga have been as unwavering democrats as their father was a monarchist and a "Miguelist." Gonzaga, in fact, was compelled to flee to Rio thirty years ago on account of his republican activities in Lisbon.

"I understand," I said, "that Senhor Theophilo first associated himself with the Republicans in 1875. Is that so?"

Senhor Gonzaga looked speculatively at me from under his heavy brows and said nothing.

"When did he become a democrat?" I persisted.

The old man laughed, spreading out his hands significantly. "He was always a democrat," he said. "He was a democrat from the day he was born. When he was a boy—a mere chit of a boy—they used to poke fun at the monarchical devotion of his father and say to him: 'Aha, so you are an aristocrat!' And Theophilo would grow red and stamp his foot and shout: 'It isn't so, it isn't so. *Eu sou um homem do povo* (I am a man of the people). So you see, Senhor, he was born with it."

ALFONSO, SPAIN'S MODERN KING

BY IRWIN LESLIE GORDON

THE House of Braganza has fallen. Upon the shattered remains of an enervate monarchy, a few faithful men are slowly welding a permanent, healthy young republic, which has shaken off the fetters of a thousand years of royal tradition, and has settled itself on a substantial foundation of democratic ideals and common sense. The royal escutcheon has waved for the last time over Lisbon, and the descendants of João IV have forever ceased to rule.

When the echo of the shots that whistled through the streets of Lisbon was heard in other lands, the cry was raised "Look at Spain, and see the youthful Bourbon, like his contemporary in Portugal, cast from his throne." Republican and Carlist Spain, enthused with the successes across the frontier, arose from slumber and became active. The nations of Europe looked on and expected momentarily to hear of a republican flag waving over the "Palacio Real" in Madrid. The republican and radical press in Spain ran headlines of treason, and characterized, in bold cartoons, the royal family packing their trunks preparatory to a hasty flight. The overwise Governor of Gibraltar expected a second visitor, but that visitor did not come. The red and yellow flag still waves over Madrid, and the "Marche Nationale" is heard every morning in the barracks from Santander to Cartagena. Europe has gotten over her expectancy, and a certain young king still sits on the throne of his fathers with a tighter grip than he ever before held on the country.

Manuel is forgotten, and the question is now being asked, "Why this delay in founding a republic in Spain?" The calamitists, who howled and pointed their fingers at the Spanish monarchy, have ceased their vituperation; Carlists and republicans in Catalonia are broken-hearted, the Vatican is relieved, and things are quieting down to normal tranquillity in the peninsula.

Looking from without at political condi-

tions in Spain, and not being familiar with the peculiar complexity of the situation, it is impossible for one to understand the recent course of events. In every country, at certain crucial moments, a spirit is manifest which is higher than political controversy and exercises a more potent influence than the workings of the state. This spirit of "personality" has saved monarchical Spain. A



KING ALFONSO CONVERSING WITH A VETERAN OF THE MOROCCAN WAR

youth, by mere personal influence, by honesty and sincerity, has handled one of the most difficult situations which has confronted any monarch in a decade.

Spain is more republican in her ideals than any other country in continental Europe.

Her history shows this to be true. No country has so fearlessly handled her monarchs, and passed such anti-royal legislation imbued with the spirit of freedom. Yet, no country has slipped from these ideals in such a lamentable manner, because, primarily, of the fickleness of the national character and the inefficiency of Spanish political leaders.

When the dastardly attempt was made on the life of Alfonso and his queen after their marriage, the people began to worship their ruler. They saw in him an ideal, a true descendant of the great Bourbons, and the youthful monarch was placed on the highest pinnacle of popularity. That was six years ago. Extravagance in the royal household, unwise political favoritism, and decidedly English tendencies, slowly lowered the young King from popular favor, while family troubles, and a wholesale housecleaning of the *grandees*, instigated by the Queen, added to the precariousness of his position. Carlists and republicans in the north plotted and re-plotted, but the firm hand of an able Premier always saved the day.

Queen Victoria, un-Spanish, unsuited by national temperament to reign over a southern people, but with the keen intuition of an Englishwoman, foresaw the imminent danger unless a radically different method of procedure was adopted. With the indomitable spirit which has always characterized her ancestry, she took matters into her own hands. Many and long were the conferences with her husband, and while the world does not know what took place at La Granja, and Santander, the world does know that Alfonso XIII soon became a different man. He traveled and became imbued with the spirit of advancing Europe; he applied himself to departmental details, familiarizing himself with faulty conditions in governmental affairs, which were, in many cases, speedily remedied. The Premier and his cabinet officials soon realized that the former weak and vacillating youth really had ideals and that their measures were not as easily carried through as formerly. Alfonso studied his people. He visited all the provinces of his kingdom. Above all, he abandoned the puerilities which were not only scandalizing Madrid, but all Europe as well. Alfonso became a real king. Victoria was victorious, and Spain to-day can thank that noble woman for the path which has been hewn for the advancement of her government, and the betterment of conditions throughout the country.

These changes occurred about two years ago. Since that time this untried young man

has developed into one of the most capable rulers of Europe. Ministries came and fell, but each situation was handled in a cool and collected manner, which commanded the respect of even his enemies, and the people of the nation. In 1909, the open sore of Spain, the Moroccan situation, again broke out. Troops were hurried into the Riff territory and a sanguinary war began. Barcelona, the hotbed of republicanism, Carlism and anarchism, and kindred creeds that oppose any form of government, arose as a protest against the Moroccan policy and tried to administer an anti-royal and anti-clerical blow. Then it was that Alfonso proved himself to be more than a puppet king. The revolt was speedily terminated by an iron hand. The King declared his intention of going into Morocco, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the cabinet dissuaded him. The Spanish public, which admires bravery more than any other virtue, enthused with the bold declarations of their young King; the press lauded his spirit, and Alfonso returned with a rush into popular favor.

In the palace in Madrid, amid the pressure of other activities, daily he wrote and mailed dozens of picture post cards to the officers in Morocco. Aside from departmental correspondence, the generals received encouraging letters, commending their services, and expressing regret at his inability to be with them. If a common soldier accomplished a deed of valor he received a letter of thanks from his King. With post cards and letters Alfonso won that war, but, more than a dozen Riffian battles, he won the hearts of officers and men. That was his victory.

Since the Moroccan trouble he has kept in constant touch with the army. The majority of the generals are his personal friends, including Weyler, who is the leader of army affairs in the peninsula. These men are continuously entertained at La Granja, the King's summer home not far from Madrid, and at Santander, where he spends several months each year. His ear is always open to complaints from the ranks of the soldiers, and as a result plots are always nipped in the bud, and the instigators summarily punished. There are a few regiments, however, especially those from the northern and north-eastern provinces, which entertain republican ideals, and, while considerable emphasis has been laid upon them, they are of little moment, as the Minister of War knows each company, and has them stationed in out-of-the-way places, rendering them practically useless in an insurrection. The army as a

whole not only admires but loves its young King, and in this fact, and this fact alone, lies his power. Alfonso is the soldier's ideal.

When Manuel fell in Portugal, Premier Canalejas knew the patriotism of the army, and instantly predicted that no matter what uprisings might occur in Valencia and Catalonia, he could rely on the army as a whole to be loyal. He was right.

The majority of the people in Catalonia and Valencia are rabid anti-royalists, and thousands of the inhabitants of the two Castiles, Extremadura and even Andalusia, sympathize at heart with these principles. The personality of the popular King, however, surmounts this tide of animosity and Alfonso, as he is to-day, is safe on his throne. When he declared he would fight for the monarchy, "Bravos!" were heard from the whole land, and army and people rejoiced. The attention of the ministry was instantly turned to the central point of danger and General Weyler was instructed to suppress riots by the strongest means. The situation in Spain was intensified by the approaching "Ferrer Day." But that day came and went. There were a few republican flags flying along the Rambla in Barcelona, but no disturbances occurred. Barcelonians knew the army was loyal and made no rash movements, nor will they while Weyler is Governor General of the province.

As long as Alfonso sits on the throne, and his actions are as meritorious as they have been during the past year, revolutions may come and go, but the army will not falter. What the next generation will do cannot be predicted. The King's popularity is reflected in the recent passage of the so-called "Padlock Bill" through the Senate, which would have been utterly impossible a year ago. His firm dealings with the Vatican, which have been attributed to Canalejas, bespeak his determination to regenerate Spain, and awake her to the responsibilities and activities of a modern, progressive land.

The King and his ministers fully realize there is one manner in which the monarchy may be terminated, and terminated quickly. That is by assassination. The Spanish people will not tolerate another regency, and it is an accepted fact, that, at the death of the present King, if prior to the attainment of his

majority by the Prince of the Asturias, the country will become a republic. Spain has always suffered under the rule of a regent, and will tolerate it no more, particularly when that regent would be a foreigner, and especially English. Every precaution is being taken to safeguard the King's life, and it is a fact that no monarch in Europe, with the exception of the Czar of Russia, is more closely watched. Alfonso rides only at infrequent intervals through the public streets, and then always accompanied by troops. While the impression is spread abroad that he is fearless and even foolhardy, as a matter of fact he is in mortal fear of his life. When staying at La Granja, his palace in the Guadarrama Mountains, agents watch all trains arriving at Segovia, the nearest railway station, and nearly all strangers are instantly placed under arrest when alighting from the train. The writer and a friend were arrested at that station last year and suffered considerable inconvenience in securing their release. Whenever a railway journey is undertaken guards thoroughly examine the track before the approach of the royal train and agents are placed at every station passed. Queen Victoria is in constant alarm concerning the safety of her husband, and insists that detectives be constantly in attendance. The movements of every known anarchist in the land are carefully watched by the police, and whenever one leaves his city, telegraphic dispatches are sent along the line to watch his movements.

A number of European journals, particularly the French, maintain that the present policy of vigorous anti-clericalism will speedily bring an end to the monarchy. This may be easily answered by the fact that the army as a whole is opposed to the church, and that it unquestionably backs the action of the ministry in this respect.

Looking at the situation in Spain from within, there is not the minutest possibility under present conditions of a republic being established during the lifetime of the present King. Such is the opinion of all Spaniards of the best class, and it is accepted as a fact by the foreign residents of Spain, who are in perhaps the best position to thoroughly understand the complexity of the problem.



PHOTOGRAPHING THE CIVIL WAR

BY HENRY WYSHAM LANIER

[We publish this month two articles in the series already announced, in commemoration of the semi-centennial anniversary of the Civil War. The remarkable photographs used to illustrate this and the following article are from the REVIEW OF REVIEWS' collection gathered for the "Photographic History of the Civil War," a ten-volume work now in press and representing all that the camera recorded, in the years 1861-65, relating to the greatest war in modern history. In the magazine series, following the article by Major Putnam which appears in this number, there will be important contributions by Admiral Chadwick, General Greely, General Rodenbough, Col. W. C. Church, and other Union veterans, while the Confederate side will be represented by Gen. Marcus J. Wright, Col. J. W. Mallet, Capt. J. A. Headley, and Dr. John A. Wyeth.—THE EDITOR.]

EXTRAORDINARY as the fact seems, the American Civil War is the only great war of which we have an adequate history in photographs; that is to say, this is the only conflict of the first magnitude in the world's history that can be really "illustrated," with a pictorial record which is indisputably authentic, vividly illuminating, and the final evidence in any question of detail.

This is a much more important historical fact than the casual reader realizes. The earliest records we have of the human race are purely pictorial. History, even of the most shadowy and legendary sort, goes back hardly more than ten thousand years. But in recent years there have been recovered, in certain caves of France, scratched and carved bone weapons and rough wall paintings which tell us some dramatic events in the lives of men who lived probably a hundred thousand years before the earliest of those seven strata of ancient Troy which indefatigable archæologists have exposed to the wondering gaze of the modern world. The picture came long before the written record; nearly all our knowledge of ancient Babylon and Assyria is gleaned from the details left by some picture-maker. And it is still infinitely more effective an appeal. How impossible it is for the average person to get any clear idea of the great struggles which altered the destinies of nations and which occupy so large a portion



PHOTOGRAPHY UNDER FIRE IN 1864—A UNION BATTERY IN FRONT OF

(The story of the taking of this photograph is an adventure in itself. The first attempt provoked the fire of the Confederates, frightening Brady's horse and assistant into a break which upset and destroyed his chemicals. Lieutenant years after, and has recognized several other members of the group—Battery B, First Pennsylvania Light Artillery, known as "The Iron Battery." Lieutenant Miller is the second figure from the left. Lieutenant Alcorn is next to the left from Captain Cooper.

of world history! How can a man to-day really understand the Siege of Troy, the battles of Thermopylæ or Salamis, Hannibal's Crossing of the Alps, the famous fight at Tours when Charles "the Hammer" checked the Saracens, the Norman conquest of England, the Hundred Years or Thirty Years Wars,—even our own seven-year struggle for liberty, without any first-hand picture aids to start the imagination? Take the comparatively modern Napoleonic wars where, moreover, there is an exceptional wealth of paintings, drawings, prints, and lithographs by contemporary men: in most cases the effect is simply one of keen disappointment at the painfully evident fact that most of these worthy artists never saw a battle or a camp.

So the statement that there have been gathered together *thousands of photographs* of scenes by land and water during those momentous years of 1861 to 1865 means that for our generation and all succeeding ones the Civil War is on a basis different from all others, is practically an open book to old and young. For when man achieved the photograph he took almost as important a step forward as when he discovered how to make fire: he made scenes and events and personalities immortal. The greatest literary genius might write a volume without giving you so intimate a comprehension of the Battle of the Wilderness as do these exact records, made by ad-

venturous camera men under incredible difficulties, and holding calmly before your eyes the very Reality itself.

To apply this pictorial principle, let us look at one remarkable photograph, "Cooper's Battery in front of the Avery House, during the Siege of Petersburg," of which we have, by a lucky chance, an account from one of the men in the scene. The lifelikeness of the picture is beyond praise: one cannot help living through this tense moment with these men of long ago, and one's eyes instinctively follow their fixed gaze toward the enemy's lines. This picture was shown to Lieut. James A. Gardner (of Battery B, First Pennsylvania Light Artillery), who immediately numbered half a dozen of the figures, adding details of the most intimate interest:

I am, even at this late day, able to pick out and recognize a very large number of the members of our battery, as shown in this photograph. Our battery (familiarily known as Cooper's Battery) belonged to the Fifth Corps, then commanded by Gen. G. K. Warren.

Our corps arrived in front of Petersburg on June 17, 1864, was put into position on the evening of that day, and engaged the Confederate batteries on their line near the Avery House. The enemy at that time was commanded by General Beauregard. That night the enemy fell back to their third line, which then occupied the ridge which you see to the right and front, along where you will notice the chimney (the houses had been burnt down). On the 18th our battery was advanced along with the corps to the position occupied by



PETERSBURG, CAUGHT BY BRADY'S CAMERA AT AN EXCITING MOMENT

federates, who thought that the running forward into position of the artillerists was with hostile intent. Thereupon they James A. Gardner, the prominent figure at the right, with the haversack, has supplied the details of this incident, forty-six as "Cooper's Battery." Capt. James H. Cooper himself leans on his sword at the extreme right of the left section above. Taylor's chimney, along which was the Confederate line, appears to the right of the seated figure on the left)

the battery in this photograph, and engaged the enemy in a battle on the afternoon of that day from the position occupied by the battery in this picture, the enemy then being intrenched along on the ridge to our front, part of which ridge you see in the picture,—the enemy's line being along by the Taylor chimney. On the night of the 18th we threw up the lunettes in front of our guns. This position was occupied by us until possibly about the 23d or the 24th of June, when we were taken farther to the left. The position shown in the picture is about 650 yards in front, and to the right of, the Avery House, and at or near this point was built a permanent fort or battery, which was used continuously during the entire siege of Petersburg.

While occupying this position, Mr. Brady took the photographs, copies of which you have sent me. The photographs were taken in the forenoon of June 21, 1864. We had been engaging the enemy occasionally, but at the time Mr. Brady stopped to take the photographs we were not engaged, but all our cannoners, gunners, and officers took their places, just the same as if they were about to again open up the conflict, and Mr. Brady was getting ready to take the picture. No doubt, the enemy thought we were again preparing to fire, and opened upon us from the ridge in our front (the position from which they fired is not shown in the photograph, being to the left of any position shown). The firing of the enemy caused Mr. Brady's assistant and horse to break to the rear, upsetting and destroying his chemicals. We did not reply to the enemy's fire, and so, afterward, Mr. Brady returned, and we again "stood up to have our pictures taken," as you see.

I know *myself*, merely from the position that I occupied at that time, as gunner. After that, I served as Sergeant, First Sergeant, and First Lieutenant, holding the latter position at the close of the war. All the officers shown in this picture are dead.

We were merely holding the position to which we had advanced, when the enemy fell back on the night of the 17th of June. From this position we occasionally engaged the enemy, but particularly took a very prominent part in the battle of June 18th.

The movement in which we were engaged was the advance of the Army of the Potomac upon Petersburg, being the beginning of operations in front of that city. On June 18th the division of the Confederates which was opposite us was that of Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson; but as the Army of Northern Virginia, under General Lee, began arriving on the evening of June 18th, it would be impossible for me to say who occupied the enemy's lines after that. The enemy's position, which was along on the ridge to the front, in the picture, where you see the chimney, afterward became the main line of the Union Army. Our lines were advanced to that point, and at or about where you see the chimney standing, Fort Morton of the Union line was constructed, and a little farther to the right was Fort Steadman, on the same ridge; and about where the battery now stands, as shown in the picture, was a small fort or works erected, known as Battery Seventeen.

When engaged in action, our men exhibit the same coolness that is shown in the picture,—that is, while loading our guns. If the enemy is engaging us, as soon as a gun is loaded, the cannoners drop to the ground and protect themselves as best they can, except the gunners and the officers, who are expected to be always on the lookout. The gunners are the corporals who sight and direct the firing of the guns.

On the photograph you will notice a person [in civilian's clothes]. This is Mr. Brady or his assistant, but I think it is Mr. Brady himself.

Our battery was part of the division known as the Pennsylvania Reserves, which had for its commanders Generals Reynolds and Meade, and served from the beginning of the war until the close thereof, that is, from June 8, 1861, to June 9, 1865, and participated in twenty-seven engagements.

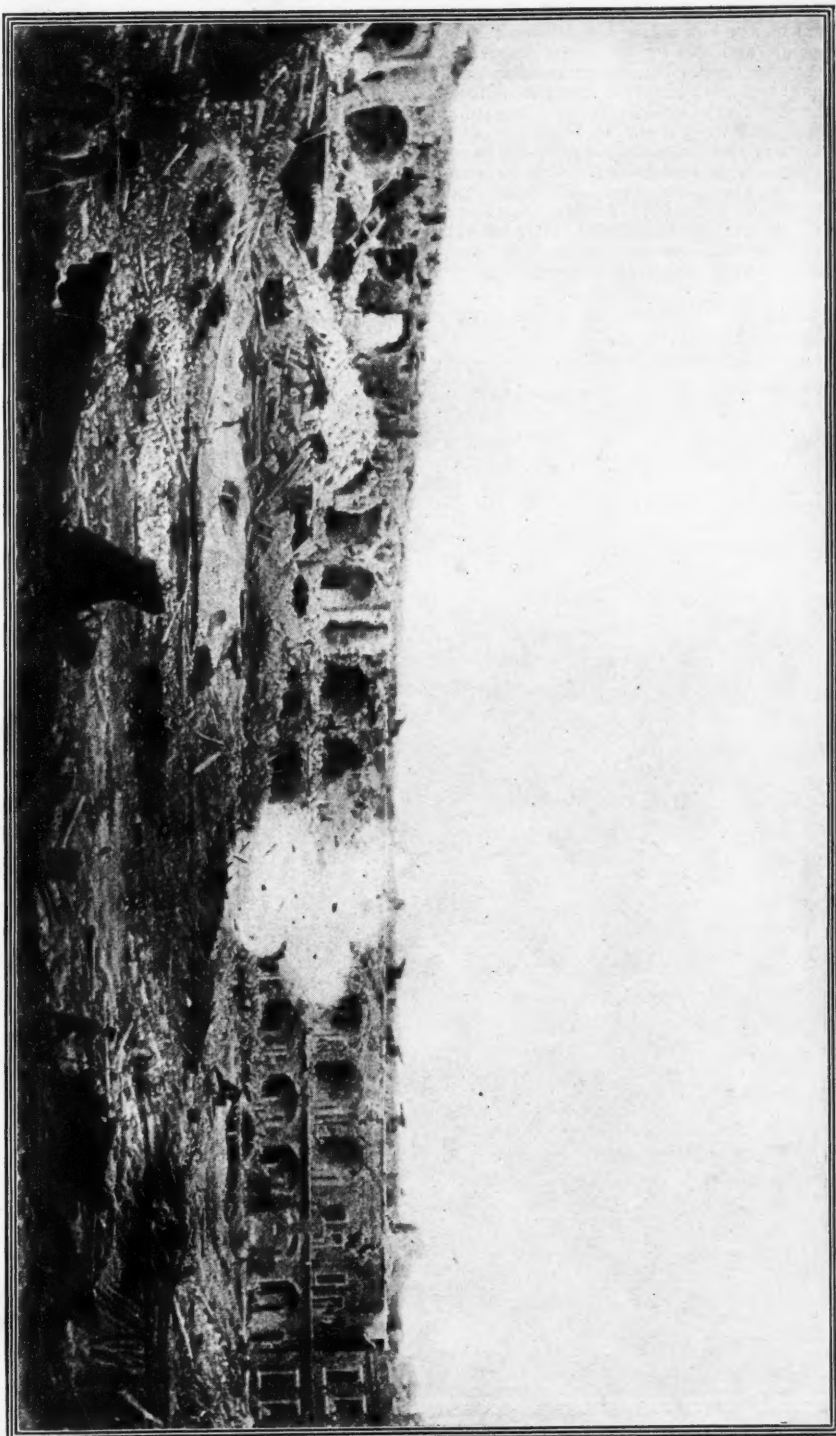
At this late day, now almost forty-seven years since the photographs were taken, I am able to designate at least fifteen persons of our battery, and point them out. I should have said that Mr. Brady took picture No. 1 from a point a little to the left and front of our battery; and the second one was taken a little to the rear and left of the battery. Petersburg lay immediately over the ridge in the front, right past the man whom you see sitting there so leisurely on the earthworks thrown up.

Again, look at the almost incredible photograph by G. S. Cook taken in Fort Sumter on the 8th of September, 1863, while the Monitor *Weehawken*, aground near Cummings' Point, was bombarding the fort. Within the much-battered ruins the Confederate soldiers are scurrying away from their guns while a shell from the *Weehawken* is actually shown exploding. The twentieth-century photographer, with his wonderfully improved paraphernalia, would be put to it to equal this. The later views of eloquent devastation show the resultant chaos with a pair of Confederates amidst the débris; and one may get some idea of what it meant to secure these from the fact that on this occasion the photographer's plate-holder was struck by a piece of shell and knocked into a well.

A notice in *Humphrey's Journal* in 1861 describes vividly the records of the flight after Bull Run secured by the indefatigable Brady. Unfortunately the unique one in which the reviewer identified "Bull Run" Russell in reverse action seems lost to the world. But we have the portrait of Brady himself three days later, in his famous linen duster, as he returned to Washington. His story comes from one who had it from his own lips:

He [Brady] had watched the ebb and flow of the battle on that Sunday morning in July, 1861, and seen now the success of the green Federal troops under General McDowell in the field, and now the stubborn defense of the green troops under that General Jackson who thereby earned the sobriquet of "Stonewall." At last Johnston, who, with Beauregard and Jackson, was a Confederate commander, strengthened by reinforcements, descended upon the rear of the Union troops and drove them into a retreat which rapidly turned to a rout.

The plucky photographer was forced along with the rest; and as night fell he lost his way in the thick woods which were not far from the little stream that gave the battle its name. He was clad



SHELL FROM A UNION GUNBOAT EXPLODING IN FORT SUMTER ON SEPTEMBER 8, 1863

(This photograph—owned by the Daughters of the Confederacy of Charleston, S. C.—and the taking of it by G. S. Cook, are fully described in Johnson's "Defense of Charleston Harbor")

in the linen duster which was a familiar sight to those who saw him taking his pictures during that campaign, and was by no means prepared for a night in the open. He was unarmed as well, and had nothing with which to defend himself from any of the victorious Confederates who might happen his way, until one of the famous company of "Fire" Zouaves, of the Union forces, gave him succor in the shape of a broadsword. This he strapped about his waist and it was still there when he finally made his way to Washington three days later. He was a sight to behold after his wanderings, but he had come through unscathed, as it was his fate to do so frequently afterward.

Things were different when the next year saw dread Bellona again swoop down upon Bull Run, and the lucky photographers had time and safety on August 30, just before the battle, in which to take a peaceful picture of themselves and their outfit above the destroyed railroad bridge at Blackburn's Ford.

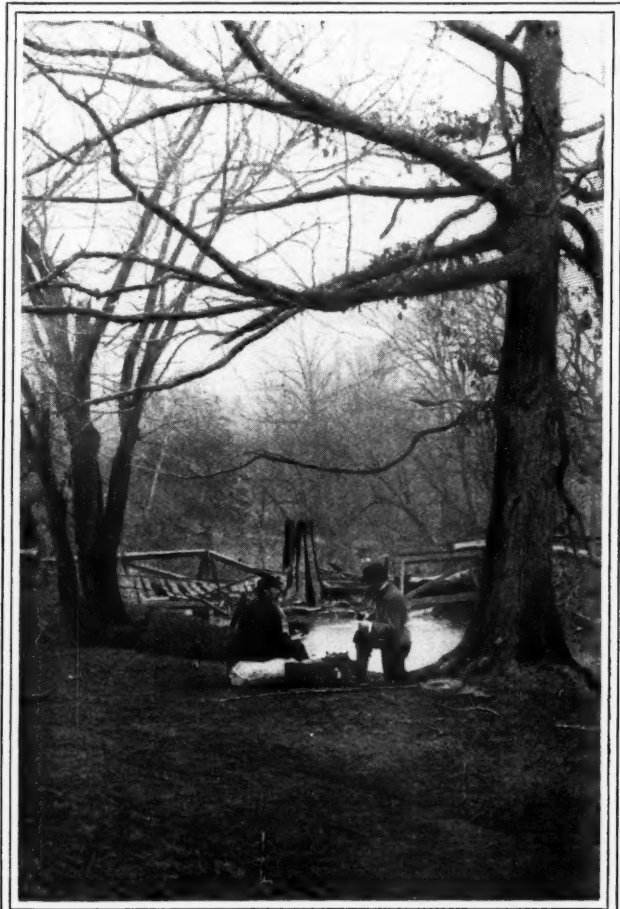
Much water had flowed under other bridges than this in that twelvemonth!

Instances might be multiplied indefinitely, but here is one more evidence of the quality of this pictorial record. The same narrator had from Brady a tale of a picture made a year and a half later, at the Battle of Fredricksburg. He says:

Burnside, then in command of the Army of the Potomac, was preparing to cross the Rappahannock, and Longstreet and Jackson, commanding the Confederate forces, were fortifying the hills back of the right bank of that river. Brady, desiring as usual to be in the thick of things, undertook to make some pictures from the left bank. He placed cameras in position and got his men to work, but suddenly found himself taking a part very different from that of a noncombatant. In the bright sunshine his bulky cameras gleamed like guns, and the Confederate marksmen thought that a battery was being placed in position. They promptly opened fire, and Brady found himself the target for a good many bullets. It was only his phenomenal good luck that allowed him to escape without injury either to himself and men or to his apparatus.

It is clearly worth while to study for a few moments this man Brady, who was so ready to risk his life for the idea by which he was obsessed. While the movement soon went far beyond what he or any other one man could possibly have compassed, so that he is probably directly responsible for only a fraction of the whole vast collection of pictures in these volumes, he may fairly be said to have fathered the movement; and his daring and success undoubtedly stimulated and inspired the small army of men all over the war region whose hitherto unrelated work has been laboriously gathered.

Mathew B. Brady was born at Cork, Ireland (not in New Hampshire as is generally stated), about 1823.¹ Arriving in New York as a boy, he got a job in the great establishment of A. T. Stewart, first of the merchant princes of that day. The



Negative owned and copyrighted by The Patriot Publishing Co., Springfield, Mass.
CAMERA MEN ON THE SECOND BULL RUN (MANASSAS) BATTLE-FIELD, JUST BEFORE THE BATTLE OF AUGUST, 1862

¹ Acknowledgment is due to Charles E. Fairman, of Washington, for many of the biographical details about Brady which immediately follow.

youngster's good qualities were so conspicuous that his large-minded employer made it possible for him to take a trip abroad at the age of fifteen, under the charge of S. F. B. Morse, who was then laboring at his epoch-making development of the telegraph.

Naturally enough, this scientist took his young companion to the laboratory of the already famous Daguerre, whose arduous experiments in making pictures by sunlight were just approaching fruition; and the wonderful discovery which young Brady's receptive eyes then beheld was destined to determine his whole life work.

For that very year (1839) Daguerre made his "daguerreotype" known to the world; and Brady's keen interest was intensified when in 1840, on his own side of the ocean, Professor Draper produced the first photographic portrait the world had yet seen, a likeness of his sister, which required the amazingly short exposure of *only ninety seconds!*

But Brady himself shortly became one of the little group of men who took up the new art and successfully adapted it to commercial uses. It is hard for us to realize to-day that a single lifetime measures the entire history of photography.

Brady's natural business sense and his mercantile training showed him the chance for a career which this new invention opened, and it was but a short time before he had a gallery on Broadway and was well launched upon the new trade of furnishing daguerreotype portraits to all comers. He was successful from the start; in 1851 his work took a prize at the London World's Fair; about the same time he opened an office in Washington; in the fifties he

brought over Alexander Gardner, an expert in the new revolutionary wet-plate process, which gave a negative furnishing many prints instead of one unduplicatable original; and in the twenty years between his start and the Civil War he became the fashionable photographer of his day—as is evidenced not only by the superb collection of notable people whose portraits he gathered, but by

Bret Harte's classic verse (from "Her Letter"):

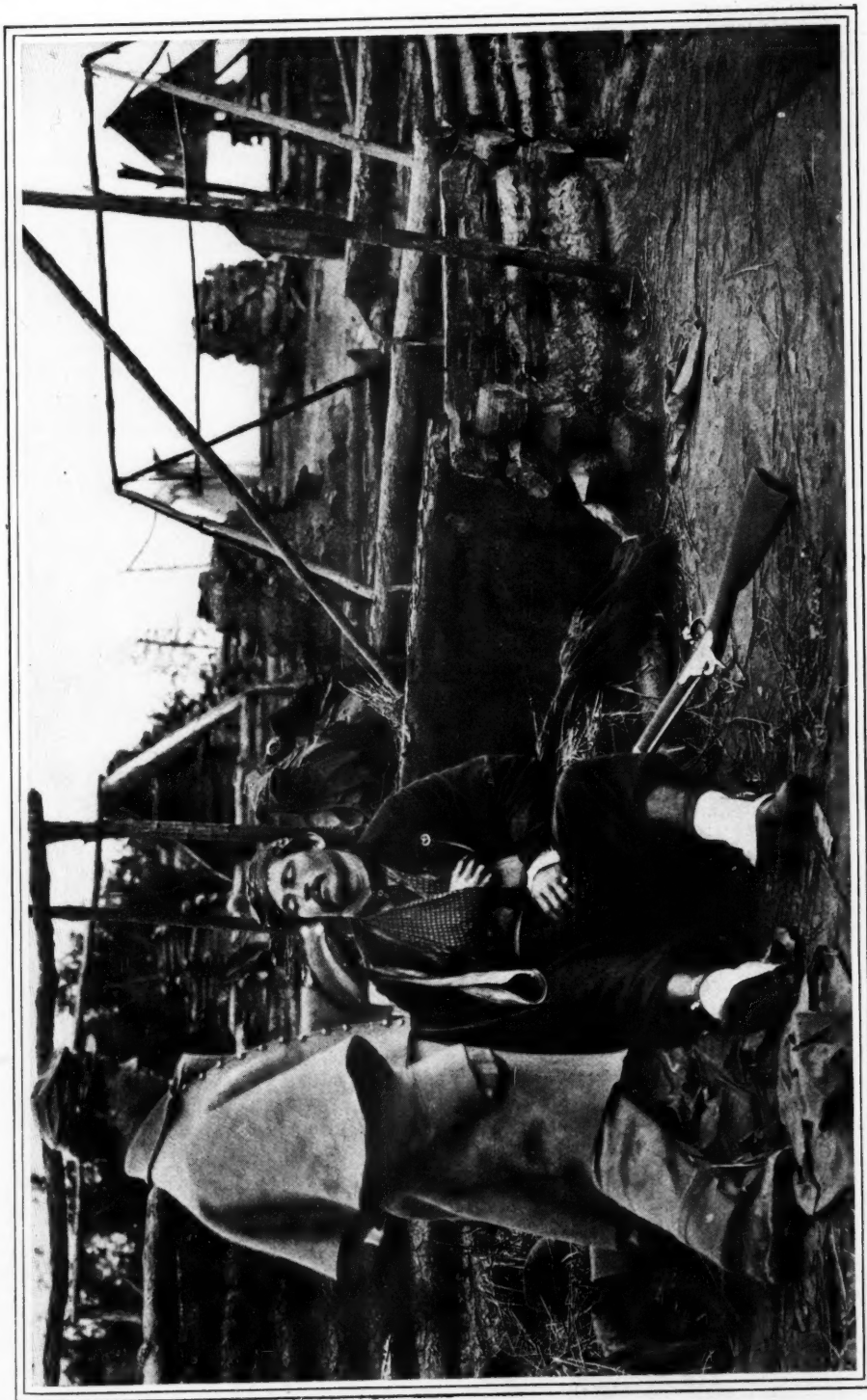
Well, yes—if you saw us
out driving
Each day in the Park,
four-in-hand—
If you saw poor dear
mamma contriving
To look supernaturally
grand,—
If you saw papa's picture,
as taken
By Brady, and tinted
at that,—
You'd never suspect he
sold bacon
And flour at Poverty
Flat.

Upon this sunny period of prosperity the Civil War broke in 1861. Brady had made portraits of scores of the men who leaped into still greater prominence as leaders in the terrible struggle; and his vigorous enthusiasm saw in this fierce drama an opportunity to win even brighter laurels. His energy and his acquaintance with men in authority overcame every obstacle, and he succeeded in interesting President Lincoln, Secretary Stanton, General Grant, and



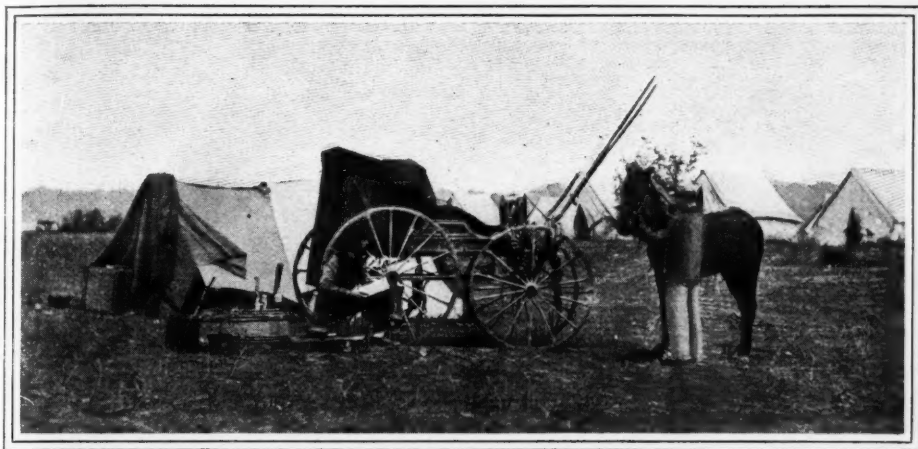
MATHEW B. BRADY, THE WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPHER
(This photograph was taken on Mr. Brady's return from the first battle of Bull Run)

Allan Pinkerton to such an extent that he obtained the protection of the Secret Service, and permits to make photographs at the front. Everything had to be done at his own expense, but with entire confidence he equipped his men, and set out himself as well, giving instructions to guard against breakage by making two negatives of everything, and infusing into all his own ambition to astonish the world by this unheard-of feat.



THE WOUNDED SOLDIER

(It took a real artist to see the picture possibilities of this everyday war-time scene, composed here with such skill that it has an instant appeal to the sympathy of every eye; in this permanent quality the photograph is worthy of a place beside the paintings of the best genre artists)



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PHOTOGRAPHER'S HEADQUARTERS AT COLD HARBOR

(The soldiers called the dark tent and photographic equipment Brady's "what-is-it." The camera on the battle field a half-century ago was quite as much a curiosity as many of the photographs are to later generations. Thus were the pictures of a bloody battle field taken. Gen. T. W. Hyde writes in his description of the battle of Cold Harbor: "On getting back to our headquarters I found an enterprising photographer was taking a picture of them and the staff." This is typical of the work of Brady)

We shall get some more glimpses presently of these adventurous souls in action. But as already hinted, extraordinary as were the results of Brady's impetuous vigor, he was but one of many in the great work of picturing the war. Three-fourths of the scenes with the Army of the Potomac were made by Gardner; Thomas G. Roche was an indefatigable worker in the armies' train; Captain A. T. Russell took an invaluable series of the military railroads and of miscellaneous landscapes; Sam A. Cooley was attached to the 10th Army Corps, U. S. Vols., and recorded the happenings around Savannah, Fort McAllister, Jacksonville, St. Augustine, Beaufort, and Charleston during the bombardment; George M. Barnard, under the supervision of Gen. O. M. Poe (then Captain of the Engineer Corps), did yeoman's service around Atlanta; S. R. Siebert was very busy indeed at Charleston in 1865; Cook of Charleston, Davies of Richmond, and other unknown men on the Confederate side, working under even greater difficulties (Cook, for instance, had to secure his chemicals from Anthony in New York—who also supplied Brady—and smuggle them through) did their part in the vast labor; and many another unknown, including the makers of the little *carte de visites*, contributed to the panorama which to-day unfolds itself before the reader. There are contemporary comments on the first crop of war photographs—which confirm several

points already made. *Humphrey's Journal* in September, 1861, contained the following:

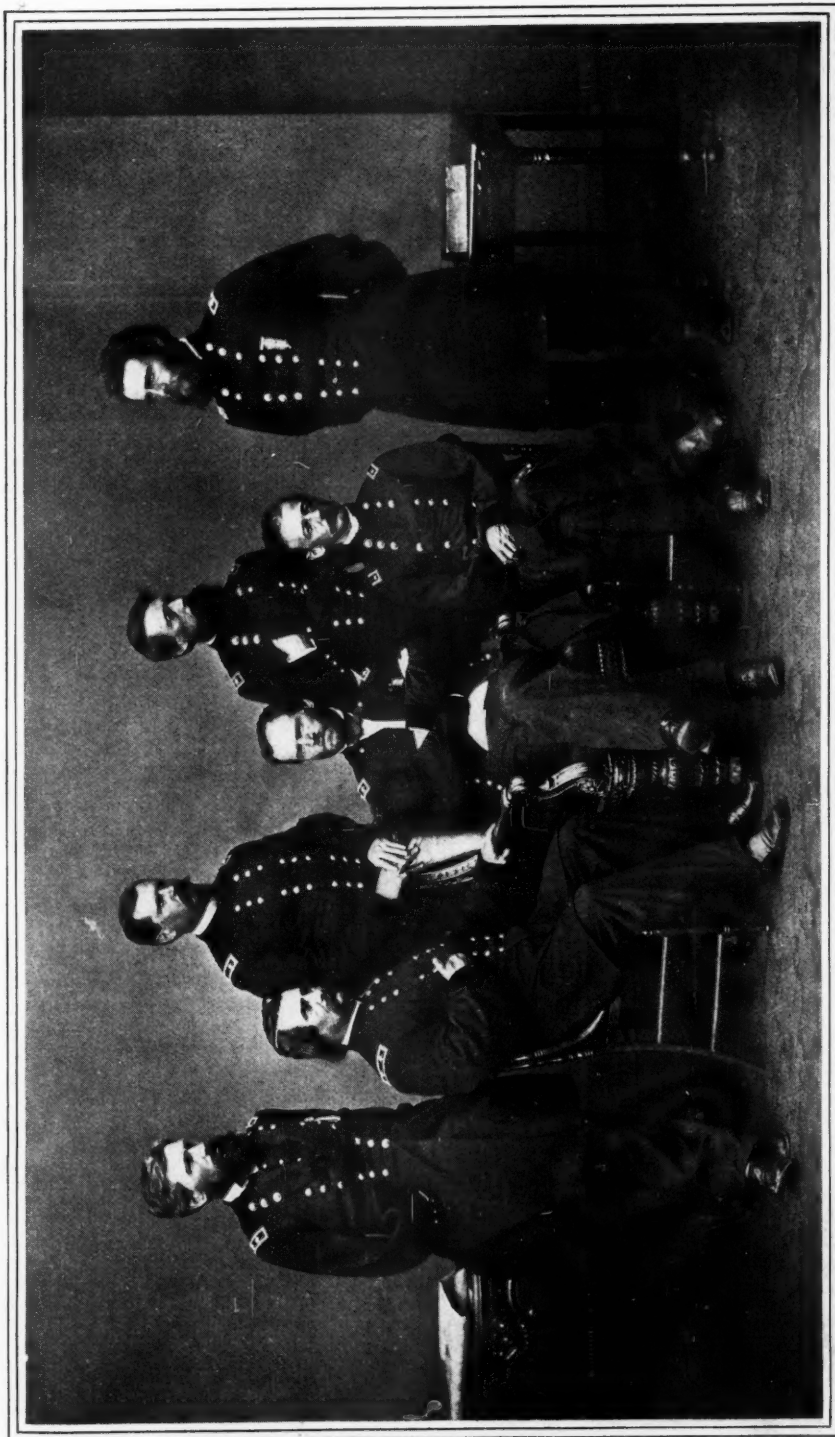
PHOTOGRAPHS OF WAR SCENES

The public are indebted to Brady, of Broadway, for numerous excellent views of "grim-visaged war." He has been in Virginia with his camera, and many and spirited are the pictures he has taken. His are the only reliable records of the flight at Bull's Run. The correspondents of the rebel newspapers are sheer falsifiers, the correspondents of the Northern journals are not to be depended upon, and the correspondents of the English press are all together more than either; but Brady never misrepresents. He is to the campaigns of the republic what Vandermeulen was to the wars of Louis XIV. His pictures, though perhaps not so lasting as the battle pieces on the pyramids, will not the less immortalize those introduced in them.

Brady has shown more pluck than many of the officers and soldiers who were in the fight. He went—not exactly like the "Sixty-Ninth," stripped to the pants—but with his sleeves tucked up and his big camera directed upon every point of interest on the field. Some pretend, indeed, that it was this mysterious and formidable-looking instrument that produced the panic! The runaways, it is said, mistook it for the great steam gun discharging 500 balls a minute, and incontinently took to their heels when they got within its focus! However this may be, it is certain they did not get away from Brady as easily as they did from the enemy. He has fixed the cowards beyond the possibility of a doubt.

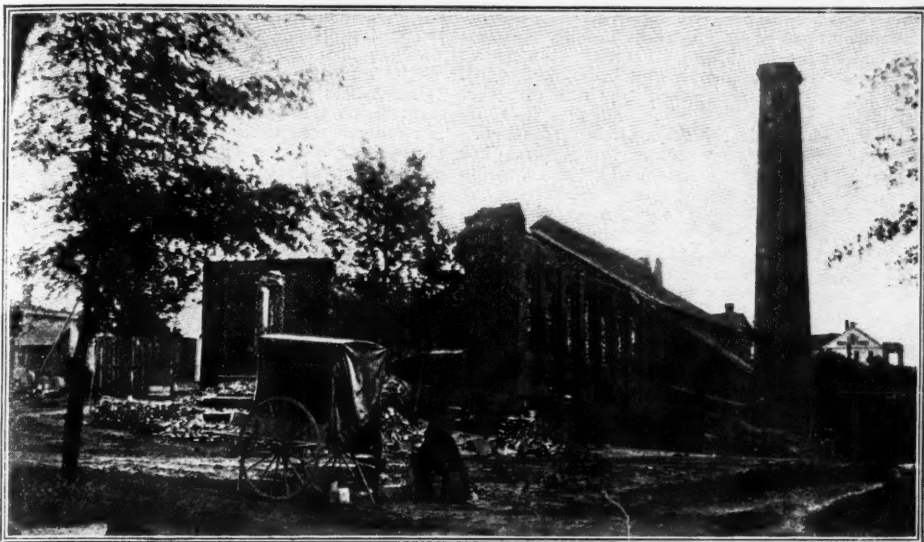
Foremost among them the observer will perhaps notice the well-known correspondent of the *London Times*; the man who was celebrated for writing graphic letters when there was nobody by to contradict him, but who has proved by his

(It took a real artist to see the picture possibilities of this everyday war-time scene, composed here with such skill that it has an instant appeal to the sympathy of every eye; in this permanent quality the photograph is worthy of a place beside the paintings of the best genre artists)



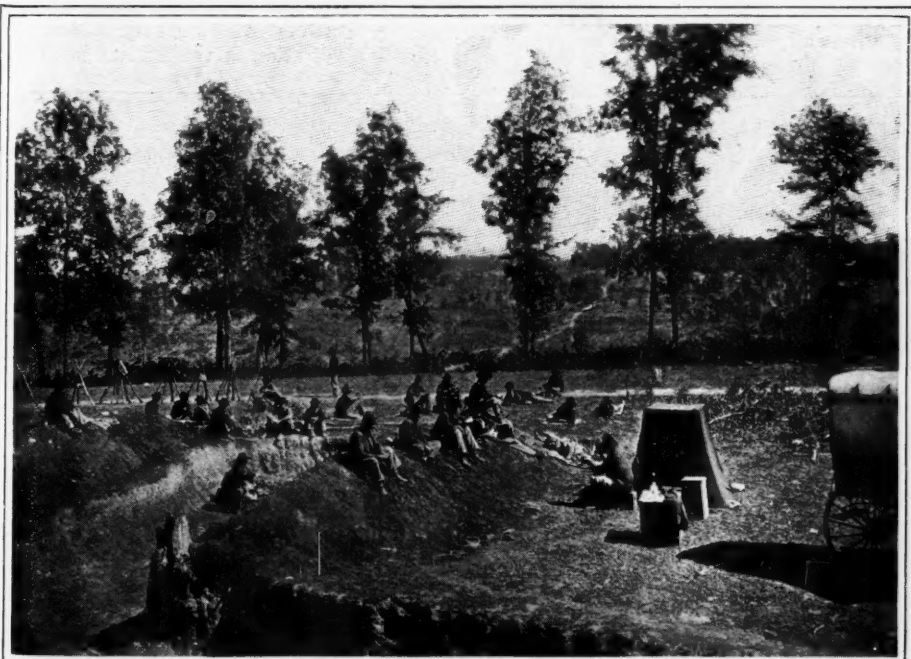
A NOTABLE PORTRAIT GROUP OF NOTABLE SOLDIERS

(There are few camera artists to-day, in spite of all our boasts about our photographic progress, who could improve on this collection of strong portraits, full of character, alive forever in this impressive group. Reading from left to right: Major Generals O. O. Howard, John A. Logan, W. B. Hazen, William T. Sherman, Jeff. C. Davis, H. W. Slocum, and J. A. Mower)



RUINS OF THE STATE ARMORY AT COLUMBIA, S. C., BURNED AS SHERMAN'S TROOPS MARCHED THROUGH, IN FEBRUARY, 1865.

(Photographer Wearn's dark-room buggy, like Brady's "what-is-it," in the foreground. The photograph has been preserved by the University of South Carolina)



THE WAR PHOTOGRAPHER IN '64 IN THE TRENCHES AT ATLANTA

(Barnard, the Government photographer under Col. E. M. Poe, in September, 1864. Chemicals and developing tent were carried to the very trenches by Brady and his associates in these early days of photography. The plate was sensitized in a light-proof tent before it was exposed and then developed immediately under similar conditions. Here in the middle background began the battle of Atlanta, where Hood in his first sortie attacked the Army of the Tennessee. This was General McPherson's battle ground of July 22, 1864.)

correspondence from this country that but little confidence can be placed in his accounts. See him as he flies for dear life with his notes sticking out of his pockets, spurring his wretched-looking steed, his hat gone, and himself the picture of abject despair.

But, joking aside, this collection is the most curious and interesting you have ever seen. The groupings of entire regiments and divisions, within a space of a couple of feet square, present some of the most curious effects as yet produced by photography. Considering the circumstances under which they were taken, amidst the excitement, the rapid movements, and the smoke of the battlefield, there is nothing to compare with them in their powerful contents of light and shade.

And in the next issue, one sees the idea developing which made possible the present books:

PHOTOGRAPHS OF WAR SERIES

Among the portraits in Brady's selection, spoken of in our last number, are those of many leading generals and colonels—McClellan, McDowell, Heintzelman, Burnside, Wood, Corcoran, Slocum, and others. Of the larger groups, the most effective are those of the army passing through Fairfax village, the battery of the 1st Rhode Island regiment at Camp Sprague, the 71st Regiment [New York] formed in hollow square at the Navy Yard, the Engineer Corps of the New York Twelfth at Camp Anderson, Zouaves on the lookout from the belfry of Fairfax Court House, etc., etc.

Mr. Brady intends to take other photographic scenes of the localities of our army and of battle

scenes, and his collection will undoubtedly prove to be the most interesting ever yet exhibited. But why should he monopolize this department? We have plenty of other artists as good as he is. What a field would there be for Anthony's instantaneous views and for stereoscopic pictures. Let other artists exhibit a little of Mr. Brady's enterprise and furnish the public with more views. There are numerous photographers close by the stirring scenes, which are being daily enacted, and now is the time for them to distinguish themselves.

We have seen how far Brady came from "monopolizing" the field. And surely the sum total of achievement is triumphant enough to share among all who had any hand in it.

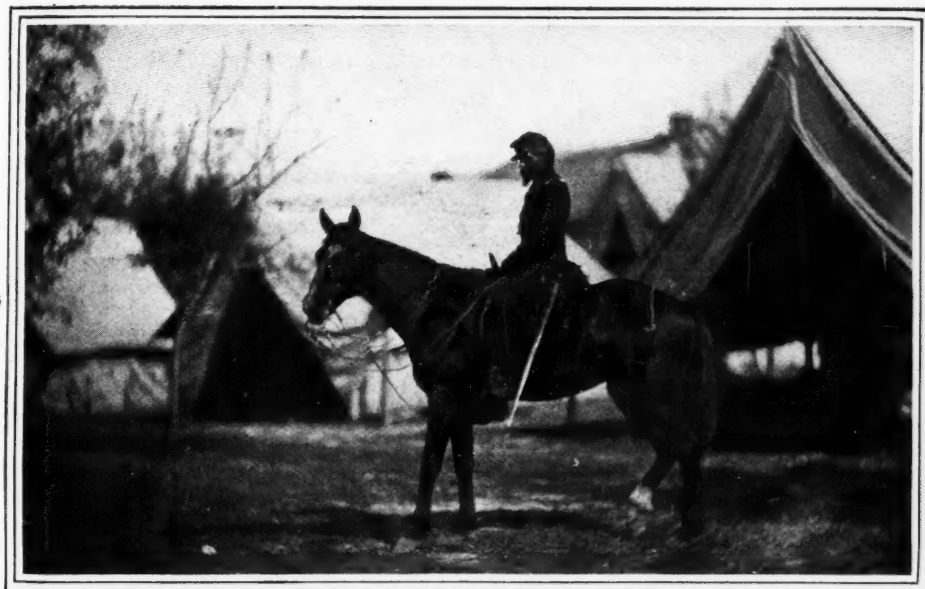
And now let us try to get some idea of the problem which confronted these enthusiasts, and see how they tackled it.

Imagine what it must have meant even to get to the scene of action—with cumbersome tent and apparatus, and a couple of hundred glass plates whose breakage meant failure; over unspeakable back-country roads or no roads at all; with the continual chance of being picked off by some scouting sharpshooter or captured through some shift of the armies. I have witnessed the harassed efforts of a distinguished nature photographer to get his plates safely into the Newfoundland wilderness in quest of salmon and caribou, and I am lost in admiration of the skill and patience



A LIFELIKE GLIMPSE OF THE WAR REGION

(A waterfall and a horse about to drink are subjects for which the modern camera man wants a focal-plane shutter and other appliances undreamed of when the picture was taken)



A HORSE THAT WILL LIVE ALWAYS

(One wants to rub this fine charger's glossy neck. It's difficult enough under the most favorable circumstances to get the satiny texture of a horse's skin, the play of muscles, definition of eyes and head. Considering the equipment the photographer had, this is a triumph. It was taken a few days after Antietam. The rider is Lt.-Col. C. B. Norton, at Gen. FitzJohn Porter's headquarters)

which the war-time men must have put into this one matter of transportation.

The first sight of the queer-looking wagon caused amazement, speculation, derision. "What is it?" became so inevitable a greeting that to this day if one asks a group of soldiers about war photographs, they will exclaim simultaneously: "Oh, yes, the what-is-it wagon!" It became a familiar sight, yet the novelty of its awkward mystery never quite wore off.

Having arrived, and having faced the real perils generally attendant upon reaching the scenes of keenest interest, our camera adventurer was but through the overture of his troubles. The most advanced photography of that day was the wet-plate method, by which the plates had to be coated in the dark (which meant in this case carrying everywhere a smothery, light-proof tent), *exposed within five minutes*, and developed within five minutes more! For the benefit of photographic amateurs and to show the trying nature of the work, here is a statement of the "collodion" process which was employed—on battlefields, mind you, and in all sorts of weather conditions:

The photographer first immersed eighty grains of cotton-wool in a mixture of one ounce each of

nitric and sulphuric acids for fifteen seconds, washing them in running water. The pyroxylin was dissolved in a mixture of equal parts of sulphuric ether and absolute alcohol. This solution gave him the ordinary collodion to which he added iodide of potassium and a little potassium bromide. He then poured the iodized collodion on a clean piece of sheet glass and allowed two or three minutes for the film to set. The coated plate was taken into a "dark room," which he carried with him, and immersed for about a minute in a bath of thirty grains of silver nitrate to every ounce of water. The plate was now sensitive to white light and must be placed immediately in the camera and exposed and developed within five minutes to get good results, especially in the South during the summer months. It was returned to the dark room at once and developed by pouring over it a mixture of water, one ounce; acetic acid, one dram; pyrogallol, three grains, and "fixed" by soaking in a strong solution of hyposulphite of soda or cyanide of potassium.

Fortunately the picture men occasionally immortalized one another as well as the combatants, so that we have a number of intimate glimpses of their life and methods. In one, the wagon, chemicals and camera are in the very trenches at Atlanta; and they tell more than pages of description. But, naturally, they cannot show the arduous labor, the narrow escapes, the omnipresent obstacles which could be overcome only by the keenest ardor and determination. The epic of the war



WORTHY OF A GREAT ARTIST'S BRUSH

(It took a "seeing eye" to pick out this precise glimpse of the earthworks at this fort commanding the James River, between Petersburg and Richmond. The contrast between the charming view of the river, with the flanking trees, and the grim preparation for a hostile approach is most dramatic)

photographer is still to be written. It would compare favorably with the story of many battles. And it does not require much imagination, after viewing the results obtained in the face of such conditions, to get a fair measure of these indomitable workers.

The story of the way in which these pictures have been rescued from obscurity is almost as romantic a tale as that of their making. The net result of Brady's efforts was the securing of over 7000 pictures (two negatives of each in most cases); and the expenditure involved, estimated at \$100,000, ruined him. One set, after undergoing the most extraordinary vicissitudes, finally passed into the Government's possession, where it is now held with a prohibition against its use for commercial purposes. (The \$25,000 tardily voted to Mr. Brady by Congress did not retrieve his financial fortunes, and he died in the nineties, in a New York hospital, poor and almost forgotten.)

The duplicate negatives passed in the '70's into the possession of Anthony, in default of payment of his bills for photographic supplies. They were kicked about from pillar to post, until John C. Taylor, ten years later, found them in an attic and bought them; from this they became the backbone of the Ordway-Rand collection; and in 1895 Brady himself had no idea what had become of them. Many were broken, lost, or destroyed by fire. Finally the treasure was discovered and appreciated by Edward Bailey Eaton, of Hartford, Conn., who as a publisher created the immediate train of events that leads to their present publication and to their importance as the nucleus of a collection of many thousand pictures gathered from all over the country to furnish the material for this history.

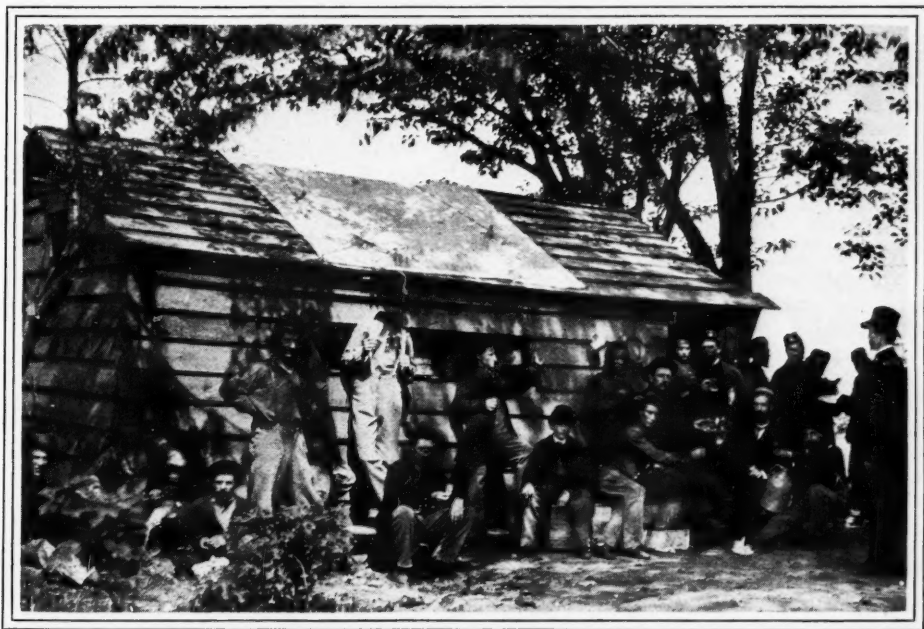
From all sorts of sources, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Maine to the Gulf, these hidden treasures have been drawn. His-

torical societies, Government bureaus, librarians, private collectors, old soldiers and their families have recollected, upon earnest insistence, that they did have such things or once knew of them. Singly and in groups they have come out of archives, safes, old garrets, from walls, often seeing the light of day for the first time in a generation, to join together once more in a pictorial army which daily grew more irresistible as the new arrivals augmented, supplemented and explained. The superb result is here spread forth and illuminated for posterity.

Apart from all the above considerations, these invaluable pictures are well worth attention from the standpoint of pictorial art. We talk a great deal nowadays about the astonishing advances of our modern art photographers; and it is quite true that patient investigators have immeasurably increased the range and flexibility of camera methods and results: we now manipulate negative and print to produce any sort of effect; we print in tint or color, omitting or adding what we wish; numberless men of artistic capacity are daily showing how to transmit personal feeling through the intricacies of the mechanical process. But it is just as true as when the caveman scratched on a bone his

recollections of mammoth and reindeer, that the artist will produce work which moves the beholder, no matter how crude may be his implements. And clearly there were artists among these Civil War photographers.

Probably this was caused by natural selection: it took ardor and zest for this particular thing above all others to keep a man at it in face of the hardships and disheartening handicaps. In any case, the work speaks for itself. Over and over one is thrilled by a sympathetic realization that the vanished man who pointed the camera at some particular scene, must have felt precisely the same pleasure in a telling composition of landscape, in a lifelike grouping, in a dramatic glimpse of a battery in action, in a genre study of a wounded soldier watched over by a comrade—that we feel to-day and that some seeing eye will respond to, generations in the future. This is the true immortality of art. And when the emotions thus aroused center about a struggle which determined the destiny of a great nation, the picture that arouses them takes its proper place as an important factor in that heritage of the past which gives us to-day increased stature over all past ages, just because we add all their experience to our own.



A PICTURESQUE GROUP OF SOLDIERS AROUND THE SUTLER'S STORE

(Few things in portrait photography are so difficult as securing a lifelike group of any size. Not only are these portraits admirable, but the poses are remarkably diversified and the light and shadow are handled very successfully in creating color contrasts)

THE CIVIL WAR FIFTY YEARS AFTER

A VETERAN'S EXPERIENCES AS RECALLED BY BATTLE FIELD PICTURES

BY GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

(Major 176th New York Volunteer Infantry)

TIS fifty years since. The words recall the opening sentence of Scott's famous romance, "Waverley," and Scott's reference, like my own, had to do with the strenuous years of civil war.

To one examining the unique series of photographs which were secured, during the campaigns of our great war, by the pluck and persistence of men like Brady and the negatives of which have, almost miraculously, been preserved through the vicissitudes of half a century, comes, however, the feeling that these battles and marchings were the events not of fifty years back, but of yesterday, if not, indeed, things of to-day. These vivid pictures bring past history into the present tense; the observer sees our citizen soldiers as they camped, as they marched, and as they fought, and comes to know how they lived and how they died. There are revealed to the eye through these lifelike photographs, as if through a vitascope, the successive scenes of the great life-and-death drama of the nation's struggle for existence, a struggle which was fought out through four strenuous years, and in which were sacrificed of the best manhood of the country, North and South, eight hundred thousand lives.

In September, 1862, I landed in New York from the Bremen steamer *Hansa*, which was then making its first transatlantic trip. I had left my German university for the purpose of enlisting in the army, and, with the belief that the war could hardly be prolonged for many months further, I had secured leave of absence from the university only for the college year. I have to-day a vivid recollection of the impression made upon the young student by the war atmosphere in which he found his home city. In coming up from the steamship pier, I found myself on Broadway near the office of the *Herald*, at that time at the corner of Ann Street. The bulletin board was surrounded by a crowd of anxious citizens, whose excitement was so tense that it expressed itself, not in utterance, but in silence. With some difficulty, I made my

way near enough to the building to get a glimpse of the announcement on the board. The heading was: "A battle is now going on in Maryland; it is hoped that General McClellan will drive Lee's army back into the Potomac."

I recall to-day the curious impressiveness of the present tense, of the report of a battle that was actually "going on." To one who reads such an announcement, all things seem to be possible, and as I stood surrounded by men whose pulses were throbbing with the keenest of emotions, I felt with them as if we could almost hear the sound of the cannon on the Potomac. The contrast was the stronger to one coming from the quiet lecture rooms of a distant university to the streets of a great city excited with twelve months of war, and with the ever-present doubt as to what the hours of each day might bring forth.

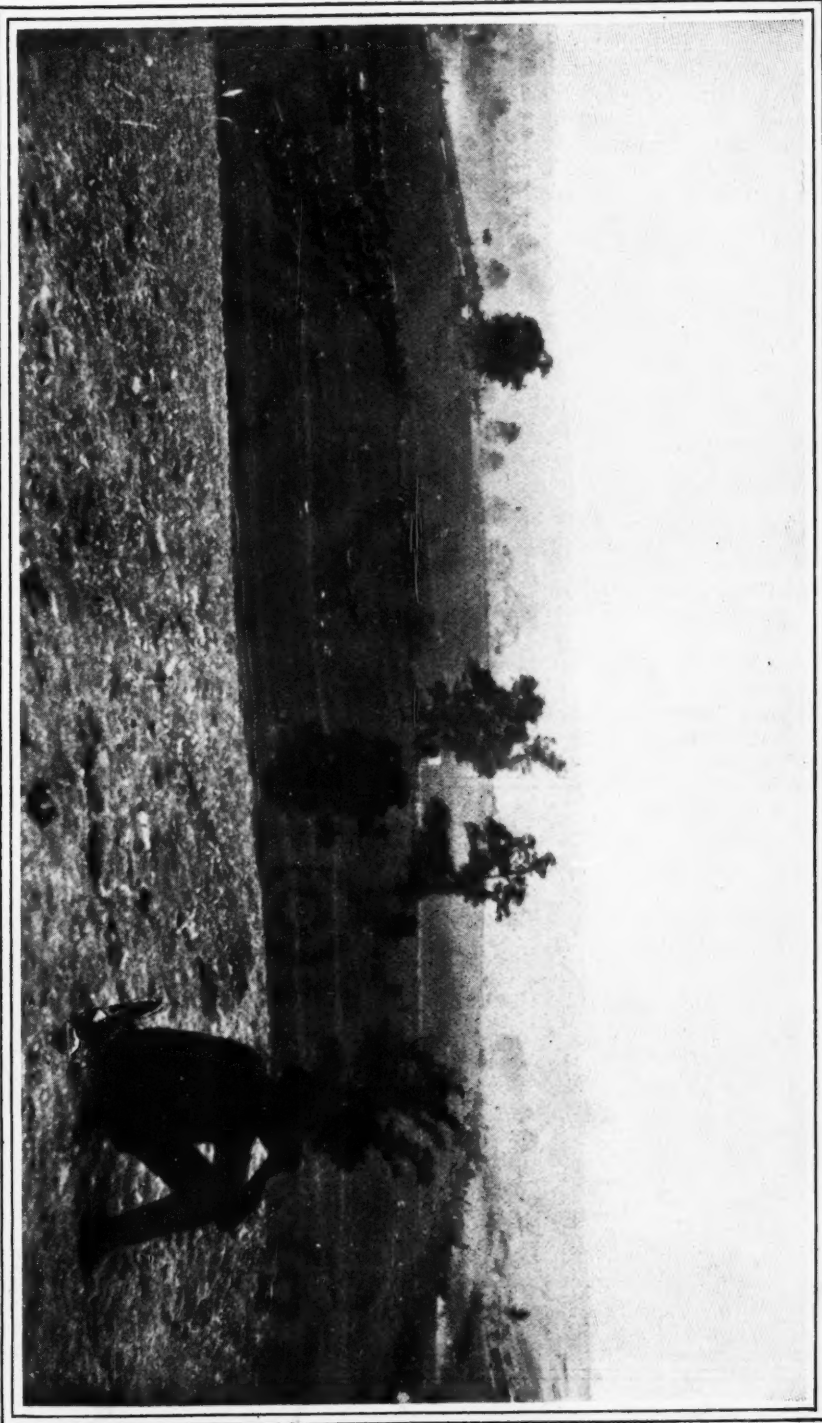
The fight that was then "going on" is known in history as the Battle of Antietam.

A fresh and vivid impression of the scene of the bloody struggle at Antietam Creek is given in one of the photographs in this great war series. The plucky photographer has succeeded in securing, from the very edge of the battlefield, a view of the movements of the troops that are on the charge, and when, on the further edge of the fields, we actually see the smoke of the long lines of rifles by which that charge is to be repulsed, we feel as if the battle were again "going on" before our eyes, and we find ourselves again infused with mingled dread and expectation as to the result.

In looking at the photographs, the Union veteran recalls the fierce charge of Burnside's men for the possession of the bridge and the sturdy resistance made by the regiments of Longstreet. He will grieve with the Army of the Potomac and with the country at the untimely death of the old hero, General Mansfield; he will recall the graphic description given by the poet Holmes of the weary week's search through the battlefield and the environs for the "body" of his son, the young captain, who lived to become one of the

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A PORTION OF THE FIELD OF ANTIETAM ON THE DAY OF THE BATTLE (ARTILLERY ON THE LEFT)



scholarly members of the national Supreme Court; and he may share the disappointment not only of the army, but of the citizens back of the army, that, notwithstanding his advantages of position, and the fact that for forty-eight hours he held in his hands, in captured despatches, the record of the actual positions of Lee's forces, McClellan should have permitted the Confederate army to withdraw without molestation, carrying with it its trains, its artillery, and even its captured prisoners.

These vivid photographs which constitute the great historic series bring again into the present tense for the memories of the veterans all of the dramatic scenes of the years of war; and even to those who are not veterans, those who have grown up in years of peace and to whom the campaigns of half a century back are but historic pages or dim stories, even to them must come, in looking at these pictures of campaigns, these vivid episodes of life and death, a clearer realization than could be secured in any other way of what the four years' struggle meant for their fathers and their grandfathers.

THE DEFENSE OF THE CAPITAL

The fine views of fort and camp near Washington recall the several periods in which

to the continuing anxieties of the people's leader was added immediate apprehension as to the safety of the national capital. On the 19th of April, 1861, the Massachusetts Sixth, on its way to the protection of Washington, had been attacked in Baltimore, and connections between Washington and the North were cut off. A few hundred loyal troops represented all the forces that the nation had for the moment been able to place in position for the protection of the capital.

I have stood, as thousands of visitors have stood, in Lincoln's old study, the windows of which overlook the Potomac; and I have had recalled to mind the vision of his tall figure and sad face as he stood looking across the river where the picket lines of the Virginia troops could be traced by the smoke, and dreading from morning to morning the approach of these troops over the long bridge. There must have come to Lincoln during these anxious days the dread that he was to be the last President of the United States, and that the torch, representing the life of the nation, that had been transmitted to him by the faltering hands of his predecessor Buchanan, was to expire while he was still responsible for the continuity of the flame.

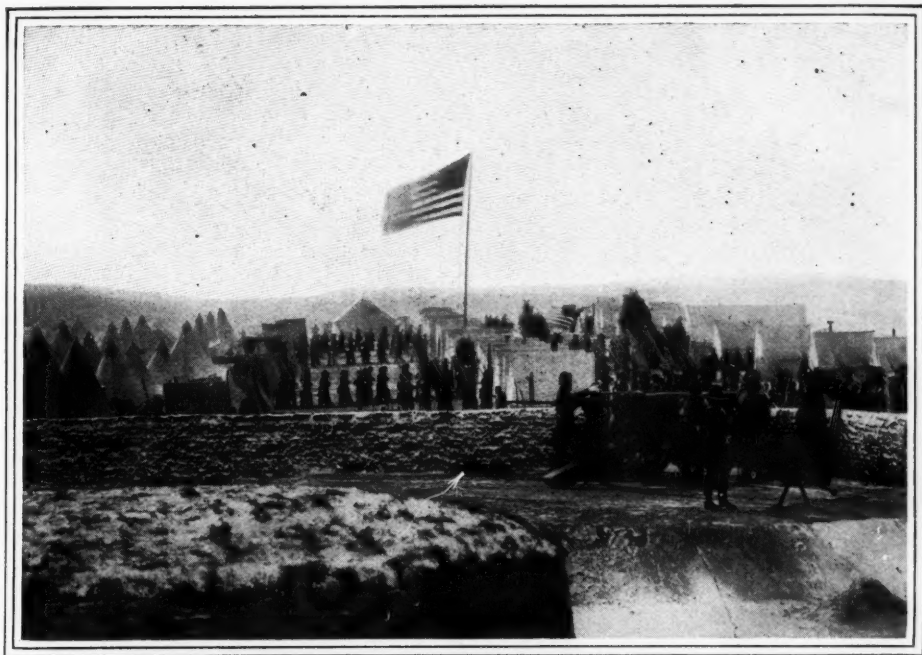
And it was not only in 1861 that the capital was imperiled. The anxiety of the President (never for himself, but only for his



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FORT LINCOLN, ONE OF THE DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON

(Company H of the Third Massachusetts Artillery)



CAMP OF THE 142d PENNSYLVANIA, NEAR WASHINGTON

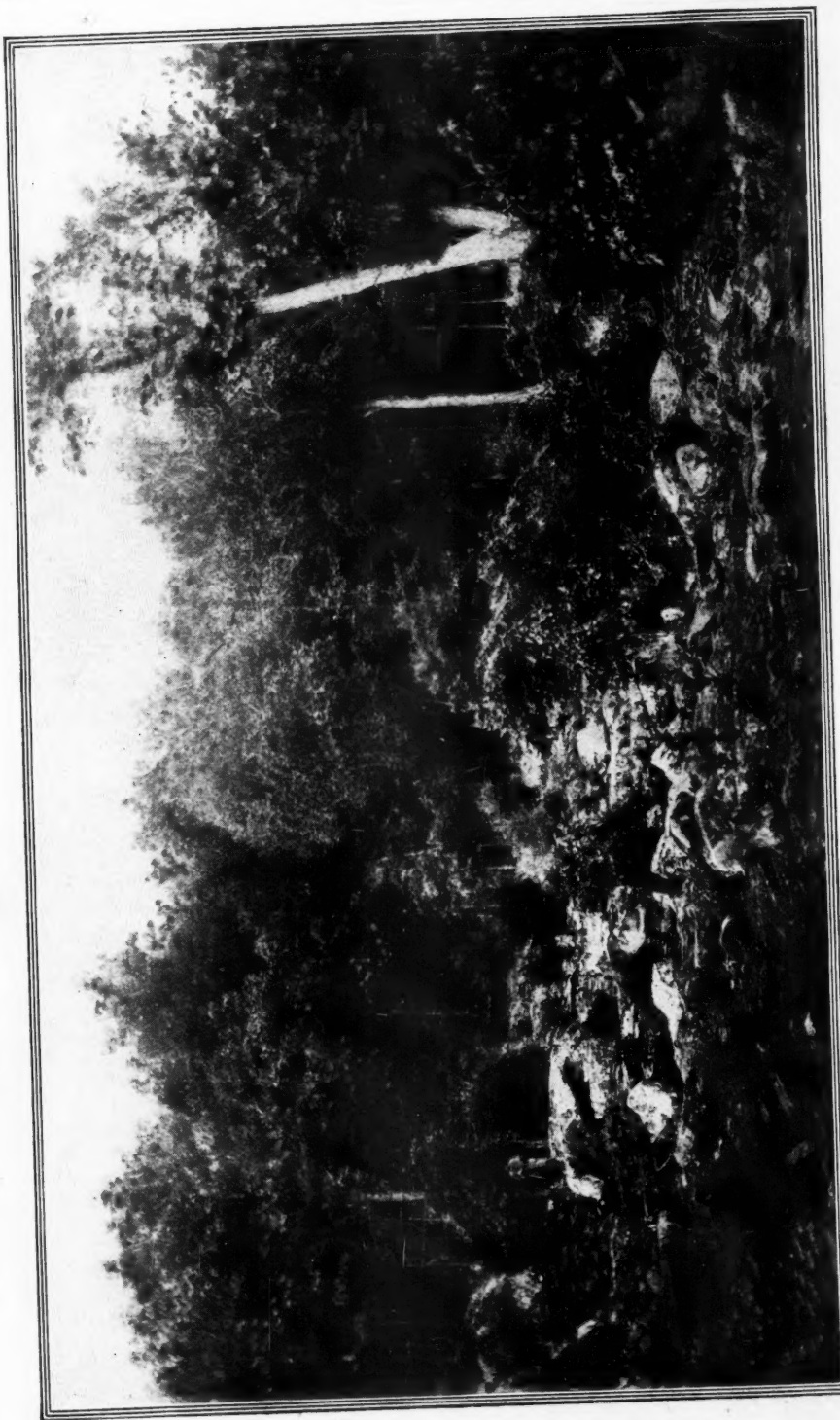
country and his responsibilities) was to be renewed in July, 1863, when Lee was in Maryland, and in July, 1864, at the time of Early's raid. It was during Early's hurried attack that Lincoln, visiting Fort Stevens, came into direct view of the fighting by which Early's men were finally repulsed. For the President, the war must indeed at this time have been something in the present tense, something which meant dread possibilities always impending.

THE BATTLE OF THE CENTURY

The month of July, 1863, marked the turning point of the great contest. If the Federal lines had been broken at Gettysburg, Lee would have been able, in placing his army across the highways to Baltimore and to Philadelphia, to isolate Washington from the North. The Army of the Potomac would, of course, have had to be reconstituted; and Lee would finally have been driven across the Potomac as he was actually compelled to retire after the decision of the battle. But such a check to the efforts of the North, after two years of war for the maintenance of the nation, would in all probability have secured success for the efforts of the Confederate sympathizers in Europe and

have brought about recognition and intervention on the part of France and of England. Such an intervention would have meant the triumph of the Confederacy and the breaking up of the great Republic. The value for the cause of the success of Meade in repelling, with heavy loss, the final assaults of Lee was further emphasized by a great triumph in the West. On the very day on which Lee's discomfited army was making its way back to the Potomac, the troops of General Grant were placing the Stars and Stripes over the well-defended works of Vicksburg.

In the series of photographs are included several characteristic views of the Gettysburg field. A beautiful little picture recalls the sharp fight that was made on the second of July for the possession of Little Round Top. It was the foresight of General Warren that recognized the essential importance of this position for the maintenance of the Union line. After the repulse of Sickles' Third Corps in the Peach Orchard, Longstreet's men were actually on their way to take possession of the rocky hill from which the left and rear of the Union line could have been enfiladed. No Union force was for the moment available for the defense, but Warren, with two or three aides, raised some flags over the rocks, and the leader of Longstreet's ad-



GETTYSBURG—SCENE ON LITTLE ROUND TOP IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE BATTLE

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THREE CONFEDERATE PRISONERS AT GETTYSBURG

vance, getting an impression that the position was occupied, delayed a brief time for reinforcements.

WARREN'S PLUCKY STAND

This momentary respite gave time for Warren to bring to the defense of the hill troops from the nearest command that was available, a division of the Fifth Corps. A few minutes later, came the first attack, followed by a series of fierce onsets that continued through the long summer afternoon. With some advantages of position, and with the realization that the control of the hill was absolutely essential for the maintenance of our line, the Federals held their own; but when darkness fell, the rocks of Devil's Den and the slopes of the hill were thickly strewn with dead, the bodies of the Blue and the Gray lying closely intermingled. The beautiful statue of Warren now stands on Little Round Top at the point where, almost single-handed, he placed his flag when there were no guns behind it. The General is looking out gravely over the slope and toward the opposite crest, where have been placed, in grim contrast to the smiling fields of the quiet farm behind, the Confederate field guns that mark Longstreet's position.

THE RIVER GUNBOATS

The editors have fortunately been able to include with the great Brady series of army photographs a private collection, probably unique, of more than four hundred views of the gunboats on the rivers of the West. Each of these vessels represents a history of its own. One wishes for the imagination of a Homer which could present with due effectiveness a new "catalogue of the ships."

Admiral Farragut, while accepting the armored vessels as possessing certain advantages and as apparently a necessity of "modern warfare," had the impatience of the old-fashioned sailor against any such attempt at protection. He preferred for himself the old type of wooden frigate of which his flagship, the famous *Hartford*, was the representative. "Why," said he, "if a shell strikes the side of the *Hartford* it goes clean through. Unless somebody happens to be directly in the path, there is no damage, excepting a couple of easily plugged holes. But when a shell makes its way into one of those 'damned tea-kettles,' it can't get out again. It sputters round inside doing all kinds of mischief." It must be borne in mind, apart from the natural exaggeration of such an utterance, that Farragut was speaking half a century ago, in the

time of slow-velocity missiles. His phrase "damned tea-kettles" came, however, to be the general descriptive term for the ironclads, applied not only by the men in the ranks but by the naval chaps themselves.

There were assured advantages given by the armor in time of action against most of the fire that was possible with the weapons of the day, but for the midsummer climate of Louisiana, the "tea-kettles" were most abominable abiding places. During the day, the iron of the decks would get so hot that the hand could barely rest upon it. At night, sleep was impossible. The decks were kept wetted down, and the men lay on deck, getting, toward the morning hours when the hulls had cooled down, such sleep as could be secured.

COTTON FOR ARMOR

Another memory recalls one of the armored transports making its way up the Red River under fire from the shore. The steepness of the banks on the Red River gave peculiar advantages for such fire, as it was frequently the case that the guns of the boats could not be elevated so as to reach the enemy's position. It was difficult to protect the man at the wheel from such plunging fire, but bales of cotton were often placed around the upper works which were sufficient to head off at least musketry fire. This improvised armor proved, however, not only insufficient but a peril when the enterprising Confederate gunners succeeded in discharging from their field-pieces red-hot shot. It happened more than once (I recall witnessing one such incident) that the cotton was brought into flames by such shot and it became necessary to run the vessel ashore.

CAVALRY AND THE FLEET

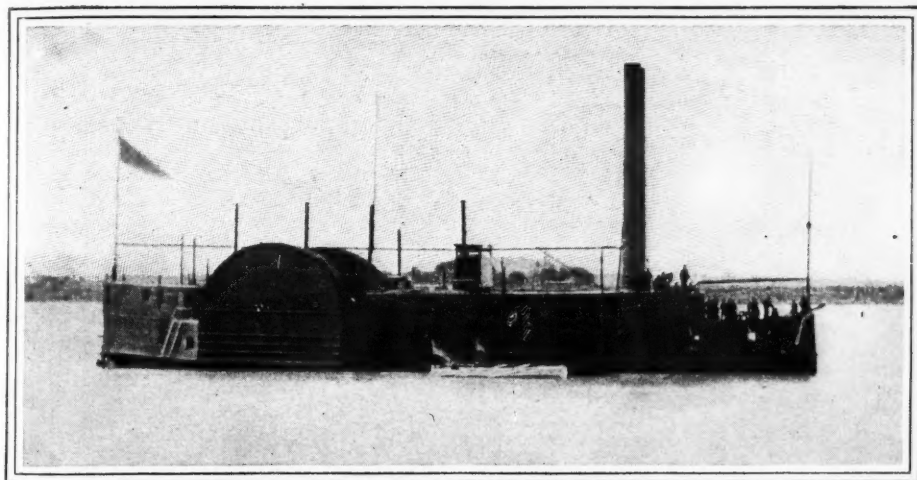
A well-taken photograph of the *Lexington*, the smallest vessel in Porter's fleet, recalls a dramatic incident in the passage of the Red River. This little vessel came very near being captured by cavalry. After the action at Sabine Cross-Roads (in April, 1864), the *Lexington* was leading the fleet on the way down the river. A rifle fire was directed upon her decks from the Confederate skirmishers on the shore. At one point, the river widened out and the channel meandered through an open stretch of comparatively shallow water. As the *Lexington* reached this open stretch, the man at the wheel (who had been replaced once or twice during the

trip) was struck by a well-directed shot from the bank. The little vessel turned sidewise to the current and grounded bow and stern across the narrow channel. A squad of Confederate cavalry, led by General Green and ex-Governor Mouton, seized the opportunity for a brilliant coup. They rode out through the shallows, the water being up to the shoulders of their horses, keeping up such a sharp fire that the decks of the gunboat had to be abandoned. The cavalry reached the edge of the channel and it seemed for a moment as if they would be able to get on board and take possession of the vessel. If their attempt had been successful, the vessel would have been sunk where she lay and the channel would have been blocked. The next vessel in the column was still above the point waiting, until by the movement of the smoke from the stacks of the *Lexington* it could be known that the channel was clear. The men on the gunboat finally succeeded in bringing to bear a gun from below, and a volley of shrapnel killed General Green. Discouraged by the death of their leader, the cavalry turned back to the bank. The Yankee gunners again took possession of the deck and the wheelhouse, and getting out their stilts (long poles fastened by swinging bolts to the side of the vessel) they succeeded, although still under a sharp fire, in pushing the bows of the vessel around and getting her again under way.

THE RED RIVER DAM, APRIL, 1864

A photograph in the series which presents a picturesque view of the famous Red River Dam recalls some active spring days in Louisiana. The photograph gives an excellently accurate view of a portion of the dam, through the building of which Admiral Porter's river fleet of eleven "turtles" was brought safely over the rapids, and the army of General Banks, repulsed and disappointed but by no means demoralized, was able to make its way back to the Mississippi with a very much lessened opposition. Through a sudden fall of the river, the "turtles" had been held above the rapids at Alexandria. Without the aid of Porter's guns to protect the flank of the army retreating along the river road, it would have been necessary to overcome by frontal attacks a series of breastworks by which this road was blocked.

The energetic Confederate leader, General Taylor, had managed to cut off all connections with the Mississippi, and, while we were feeding in the town of Alexandria the women and children whose men folks were fighting us



THE GUNBOAT "LEXINGTON," WHICH NARROWLY ESCAPED CAPTURE BY CONFEDERATE CAVALRY ON THE RED RIVER

from outside, we had rations sufficient for only about three weeks. The problem was, within the time at our disposal and with the material available (in a country in which there was no stone), to increase the depth of water on the rapids by about twenty-two inches. The plan submitted by the clever engineer officer, Lieut.-Colonel Bailey, of the Fourth Wisconsin, was eagerly accepted by General Banks. Under Bailey's directions, five wing-dams were constructed, of which the shortest pair, with the widest aperture for the water, was upstream, while the longest pair, with the narrowest passage for the water, was placed at the point on the rapids where the increased depth was required. The water was thrown, as it were, into a funnel, and not only was the depth secured, but the rush downward helped to carry the vessels in safety across the rocks of the rapids. As I look at the photograph, I recall the fatiguing labor of "house breaking," when the troops were put to work, in details on alternate days, in pulling down the sugar mills and in breaking up the iron work and the bricks.

On the further side of the river, a territory claimed by the sharpshooters of our opponents, men selected from the Western regiments, protected more or less by our skirmish line, are applying their axes to the shaping of the logs for the crates from which the dams were constructed. The wood-chopping is being done under a scattered but active fire, but while hastened somewhat in speed, it loses none of its precision.

I recall the tall form of the big six-footer

Colonel Bailey leading the way into the water where the men had to work in the swift current at the adjustment of the crates, and calling out, "Come along, boys; it's only up to your waists."

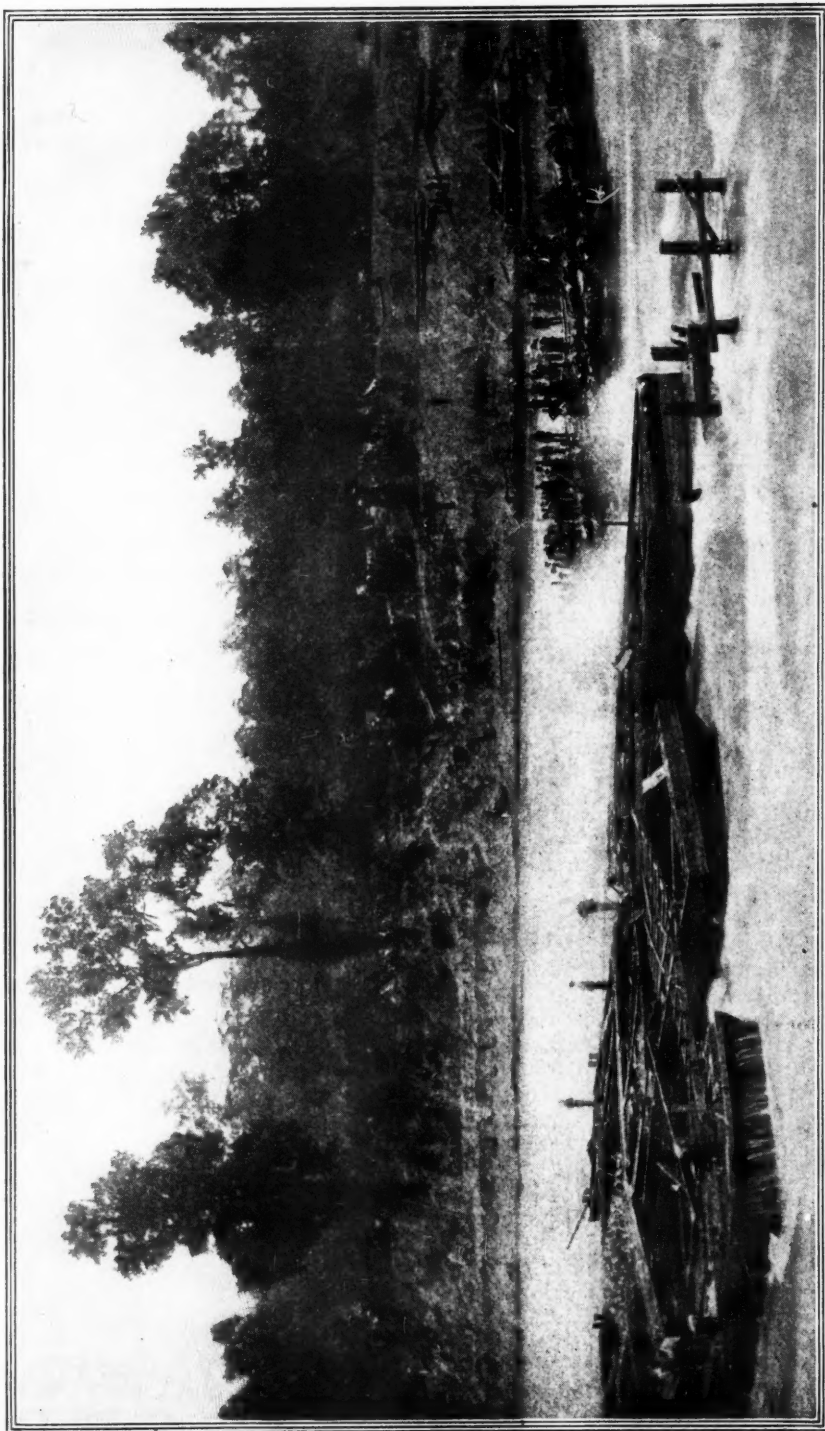
As in duty bound, I marched after the Colonel into the river, calling upon my command to follow; but the water which had not gone very much above the waist of the tall Colonel, caught the small Adjutant somewhere above the nostrils, with the result that he was taken down over the rapids. He came up, with no particular damage, in the pool beyond, but in reporting for the second time, wet but still ready for service, he took the liberty of saying to the Wisconsin six-footer, "Colonel, that was hardly fair for us little fellows."

After the hot work of tearing down the sugar mills, the service in the cool water, although itself arduous enough, was refreshing. The dams were completed within the necessary time, and the vessels were brought safely through the rapids into the deep water below.

The saving of the fleet was one of the most dramatic incidents of the war, and the method of operation, as well as the whole effect of the river scene, are admirably indicated in the cleverly taken photographs.

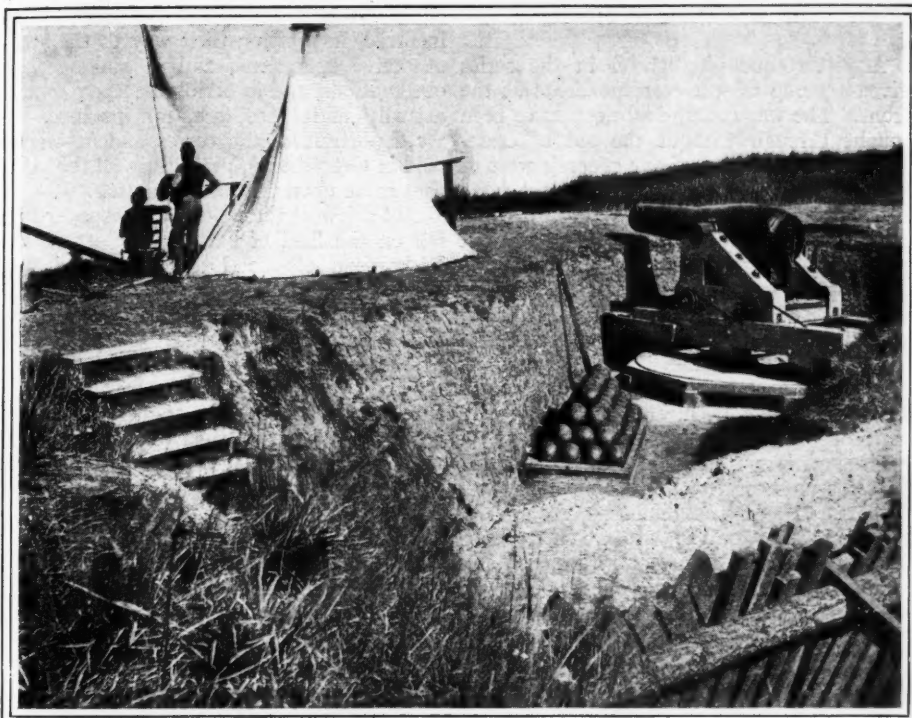
FORT MCALLISTER, 1864

The view of Fort McAllister recalls a closing incident of Sherman's dramatic march from Atlanta to the sea. The veterans had for weeks been tramping, with an occasional



ONE OF THE MOST DRAMATIC INCIDENTS OF THE WAR—SAVING THE RED RIVER FLEET OF GUNBOATS BY DAMMING THE STREAM

(The work was performed by the troops under the direction of Colonel Bailey of the Fourth Wisconsin)



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INTERIOR VIEW OF FORT McALLISTER, GEORGIA, WHICH OPPOSED SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA

interval of fighting, but with very little opportunity for what the boys called a square meal. By the time the advance had reached the line of the coast, the commissary wagons were practically empty. The soldiers had for days been dependent upon the scattered supplies that could be picked up by the foraging parties and the foragers, working in a country that had been already exhausted by the demands of the retreating Confederates, gave hardly enough return, in the form of corn on the cob or an occasional razor-backed hog, to offset the "wear and tear of the shoe-leather."

The men in the division of General Hazen, which was the first command to reach the Savannah River, could see down the river the smoke of the Yankee gunboats and of the transports which were bringing from New York, under appointment made months back by General Sherman, the much-needed supplies. But between the boys and the food lay the grim earthworks of Fort McAllister. Before there could be any eating, it was necessary to do a little more fighting. The question came from the commander to General Hazen, "Can your boys

take those works?" and the answer was in substance:

"Ain't we jest obleeged to take them?"

The assault was made under the immediate inspection of General Sherman, who realized the importance of getting at once into connection with the fleet, and the general was properly appreciative of the energy and neatness with which the task was executed.

"See my Bummers," said old Sherman with most illigant emotion.

"Ain't their heads as horizontal as the bosom of the ocean?"

The raising of Old Glory over the fort was the signal for the steaming up-stream of the supply ships, and that evening witnessed for the advance division a glorious banquet, with real beef and soft bread.

The following day, which happened to be the 25th of December, General Sherman was able to report to President Lincoln that he had secured for him, or for the nation, a Christmas present in the shape of the city of Savannah.

THE WAR CORRESPONDENT

A picturesque photograph in the series gives a group of war correspondents at the front. The war could, doubtless, have been fought through without the aid of correspondents, and some of our generals were of opinion that their movements could have been managed more successfully, because with more secrecy, if they could have felt assured that information was not going to their opponents by way of the New York papers. These same generals felt not infrequently also that there would have been a wider freedom of action if their movements and the management of their responsibilities could have been directed solely with reference to the approval or criticism of their superiors instead of being made the text for more or less misleading newspaper leaders. There was doubtless ground for such annoyance on the part of General Sherman and other of the military opponents of the correspondents. There can, however, be no question as to the skill, enterprise and courage with which was conducted the work

of these representatives of the press. They incurred, in pressing their way to the scene of active operations, and in making their observations, and in scribbling their reports actually under fire (see, for instance, the vivid portrait of the correspondent on the field of Gettysburg), practically all the perils that came upon the soldier himself.

Not a few of these plucky newspaper men fell on the field of battle, while others, like Richardson of the *Tribune*, endured long terms of imprisonment. It is certain that without the clever and often dramatic work of these newspaper writers, the citizens at home would have known much less than they did know then, and their successors would know much less to-day, about the actual happenings of the campaigns. It was necessary also that the people at home, who were finding supplies for the armies and paying the taxes under which the armies were supported, should be furnished with information as to what the men at the front were doing. It may safely be concluded that on the whole a great debt was due to the American war correspondent.



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"SHERMAN'S BUMMERS"—A FEDERAL PICKET POST NEAR ATLANTA

"SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT" IN BUSINESS

BY A. W. SHAW

(Editor and publisher of *System*)

THE much-discussed "Scientific Management," reduced to simple terms, is a particular form of industrial management that develops the individual worker to the highest state of efficiency and of prosperity and at the same time secures greater prosperity for the factory owner by getting his product made at the lowest possible cost.

Its principles have been slowly but accurately formulated by Frederick W. Taylor, the first investigator in the field of industrial management whose work may rightly be termed scientific.

Literally, with a stopwatch, scales, and a tape, Mr. Taylor timed the various routine operations of the workmen in the great steel plants of Pennsylvania, in one of which he was successively laborer, foreman, chief engineer, general manager. He measured distances that men and materials traversed, and gradually evolved the theory that a large percentage of both labor and material was needlessly wasted,—often as high as 60 or 80 per cent. in a single department,—through improper supervision and direction. Through changes which he effected he materially reduced the time in which these operations were done. By a comparison of figures he expressed the economies which his methods effected in specific terms of minutes, cents, and ounces. Upon these terms as a basis, he constructed a plan of scientific shop management that he described in a paper which he read before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers at the June meeting of 1903. That date properly marks the beginning of the present movement to establish industrial management as a profession subject to scientific laws.

A CENTRAL "PLANNING" DEPARTMENT

Practical illustrations of the efficiency of Mr. Taylor's principles of scientific business management are found in numerous institutions, but an especially good example is furnished by the Tabor Manufacturing Company, whose factory in Philadelphia is, in its

physical aspects, in no way conspicuous among the other manufactories in the district where it is located. But in its method of handling men and materials it has become notable because of the contrast between its present productiveness and that of five years ago, before the modern methods were adopted.

At that time the company employed about a hundred men in its shop and only two or three men in its office. Under the present system of management, it employs less than seventy men in the shops and nearly thirty in the office. Yet the present output, with a shop force over a third less than formerly, exceeds the former output by over 300 per cent.

One of the basic principles of the Taylor system is embodied in the "planning" department, where the work of the entire plant is mapped out and distributed among the various departments. This system not only relieves the workman of the task of planning out his own duties and establishes the one best way of performing them, but more particularly, it enables him to concentrate his entire energies on his production, upon which his compensation (which is adjusted on a sliding scale by the bonus system) is dependent.

CHARTING EVERY STAGE OF A GIVEN JOB

This planning department is to a business house what the "staff" is to the army. It is the department in which the various problems of manufacture are analyzed by especially trained executives and in which the many elements are distributed and the duties of each smaller unit defined and supervised, in much the same manner as the officers of the "staff" draw up the plans of the military campaigns in which the soldiers of the "line" do the actual physical work of fighting.

In the Tabor plant the activities of the planning department, upon the acceptance of each order, are first expressed in a "route chart" that is practically the working plan of that job. Blue-print copies of it are furnished to each department which it affects. On it are indicated, by a system of symbols,



THE "SHOP BOARD," BY WHICH THE PLANNING DEPARTMENT OF THE FACTORY ASSIGNS JOBS TO EACH WORKMAN AND RECORDS THEIR PROGRESS

(Each workman is represented by three hooks, the first of which bears the record ticket of the "job on machine," the second the tickets of the "jobs at machine ready to be done," and the third, the tickets of the "jobs in shop but not ready to be done." In this way delays in the workrooms are entirely eliminated)

what raw material will be required, what part may be secured from the stock on hand, what tools will be needed and all data that have a direct bearing upon the fulfillment of that order.

The sequence in which the various operations should be begun are so carefully planned that under normal conditions the various parts that enter into the final make-up of the product reach the assembling room at exactly the same time or at such intervals as they may be required. No time is lost anywhere along the line through delays.

WHAT IT MEANS TO THE INDIVIDUAL WORKMAN

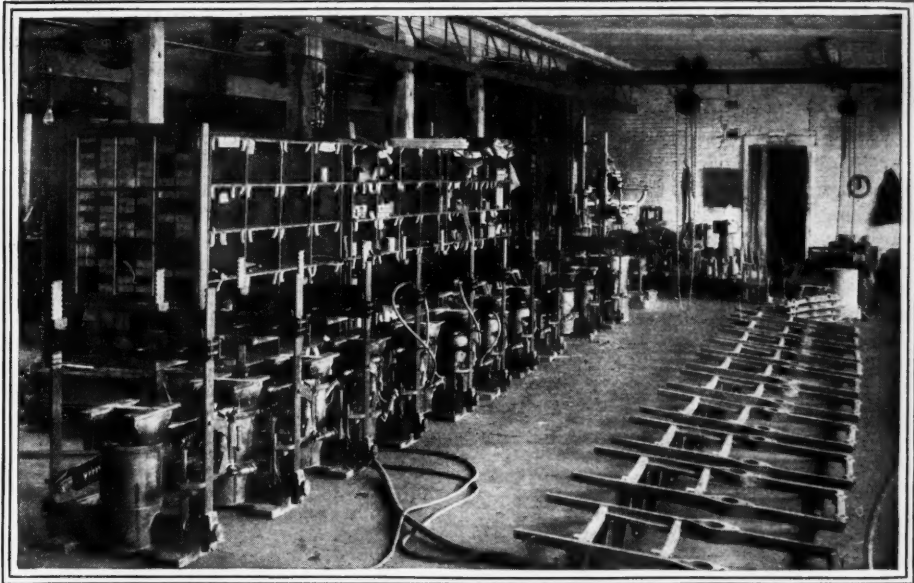
Another fundamental principle of Scientific Management is the standardization not alone of the production of each department as a whole, but also of the most minute operations of the individual workman. In the Tabor shop, for example, blue-print instruction cards are furnished to each workman upon the issuance of each job. These cards show the exact order in which each operation must be done, the exact method by which it must be done, and the time in which each detailed step should be completed by the average workman.

To facilitate the reckoning of time, a special ten-hour clock has been adopted with the time units divided on the decimal system. This clock is started simultaneously in each department upon the beginning of the working day.

If the instructions are carried out exactly as stipulated in the schedule, the workman produces a specified amount of work in a ten-hour period and is entitled to a fixed compensation, which includes a bonus of 35 per cent. or an equivalent to pay for $13\frac{1}{2}$ hours of work. If he produces this amount of work in less than ten hours, he is entitled not only to his full compensation, including the bonus, but is further enabled to undertake other jobs on the time thus saved and to receive further compensation that increases proportionately to his output.

This instruction card thus becomes to the worker at the machine what the "bogie" score is to a golf player; it establishes a standard and the bonus furnishes an incentive to excel it.

On the "shop board" is kept a complete record of the work that is being done in every shop department. It consists of a bulletin approximately ten feet long and three feet high, to which are attached the work cards of



THE "ASSEMBLING ROOM" OF A FACTORY, WHERE THE SEVERAL JOBS SCHEDULED ON THE "SHOP BOARD" ARE RECEIVED WHEN COMPLETED

(Each order received at the factory is so carefully "routed" and distributed to the departments that the various parts reach this "assembling room" at the same time, or at such intervals as they are required. In the bins at the left, each marked by the order number, the small stock parts are placed in the order in which they are needed)

each employee, designated by his number. Each employee is represented by three hooks. On the first is hung the card that indicates the job on which he is at present working; on the second are hung from two to six cards representing jobs that must receive attention immediately following, and on the third are hung as many job tickets as have been assigned to that workman, ranging as high as a dozen or two. As the workman completes each piece of work, he reports to the planning department, which makes a record of the bonus, if any, that is due him. He then secures from the shop board the next job that has been assigned to him. By thus mapping out each employee's daily tasks, the company keeps the shop work in constant activity and permits each worker to apply his maximum effort to the task for which he is trained and upon which his value both to himself and to his company is based.

So profitable has this system proved to the worker as well as to the company that during the strike period of last year, when employees in the adjoining shops quit work and used every effort to induce the employees of other plants to walk out, the Tabor Company did not lose a man.

While Mr. Taylor was investigating with

such extreme thoroughness industrial workmen, machines, and materials, other executives in other businesses were discovering and applying principles very similar to those that he was working out, but in relation to commercial activities.

SIMILAR PRINCIPLES APPLIED TO SALESMANSHIP

The National Cash Register Company, for instance, had reduced its selling methods to the point that it had analyzed, classified, and embodied in text-book form the theory and practice of salesmanship as applied to its particular product—the first, perhaps still the most complete codification of rules that has ever been formulated for the guidance of salesmen. Every detail of the demonstration of the company's product has been analyzed and expressed in the order and even in the phraseology that experience has proved to be the most effective. Every salesman is obliged to memorize this "selling talk," and to conduct a demonstration throughout in exactly the same words and manner as is prescribed for every other salesman; the entire process, in brief has been standardized.

In another volume have been collected, from the practical experience of its salesmen,

every objection that had been made by a prospective customer against the purchase of the product, together with the approved arguments in refutation. These arguments are studied and in many cases memorized by the salesmen.

The same methods have been employed to standardize the work of the sales department as a whole. The salesmen are divided into grades, according to their abilities. As soon as a salesman attains a specified ability as expressed in "points" (a "point" is the standard sales unit, and represents a sale of \$25 in value, with additional values for the sale of special grades of goods) he is admitted to the school for salesmen, conducted by experienced instructors. Here he attends courses of lectures, recitations, and selling demonstrations extending over a period of six weeks, at the end of which oral and written examinations determine whether he is qualified for a certificate. Prizes are given for excellence in these courses, and the classes are organized and "graduated" similar to the classes in ordinary educational institutions. At stated intervals these classes are called in to pursue "post-graduate" courses of instruction, as the changes in the policies of the company and in its products demand.

The entire globe is divided into sales territory under district managers and their subordinates; for each district and sub-district a sales "quota" is established each month. A "quota" is the volume of sales (as expressed in points) which, in view of the season, local conditions, and other considerations, may be reasonably expected. Thus a standard of proficiency is established for every man in the selling organization—a "bogie score" that must be equaled to maintain the record and that must be excelled in order to qualify for the numerous bonuses and prizes that are constantly held out as incentives.

So completely has this selling organization been standardized in its details and so successful has it been in maintaining an established ratio of growth, that its methods have been adopted by other organizations that are using them with equal proficiency. And when the United Cigar Stores selects locations for its shops by stationing a representative of the company on the spot for specified periods, to make an actual count of the number of people who pass that spot in the course of the day, and when in another concern an office manager, with a stopwatch, times the work of every stenographer and posts each week, as a stimulus to effort, a comparative record that shows the speed, accuracy, and volume

of work performed and on this record, as a basis, establishes a scale of wages, both are taking long, long steps toward Scientific Management.

APPLICATION TO BUSINESS PROBLEMS IN GENERAL

For these, broadly, are the steps toward Scientific Management:

1. To separate from the "line organization" or to add to the line organization a staff officer or "staff organization."
2. To set up tentative standards of performance.
3. To correct these standards by working out scientifically the best methods of performance.
4. To determine the best inducement to the employee to attain these standards.
5. To equip the employee with clear, complete, and exact knowledge of the best way of doing the work.

This is not, perhaps, as Mr. Taylor would designate them, but as they might be taken by a business man who, having studied the literature of Scientific Management, would apply its principles to an individual business problem.

For Mr. Taylor's studies have been of industrial workers. And the exact systems he has devised and installed have been applications of the principles or laws that he has discovered to industrial organization. They should be introduced, in their entirety, in no factory except under the direct supervision of Mr. Taylor or of men trained by him or trained directly under his influence.

But many a false prophet will come to the business men bringing only the shell of Mr. Taylor's methods and not the principles, just as when the first general introduction of business system brought in its trail heterogeneous assortments of cards, filing cabinets, and record sheets that involved endless clerical labor to operate and which in many cases constituted useless red tape. For a period business men mistook the form for the substance; they believed that in the filling and filing of blanks they had "system," and ignored the real system of which these forms were merely the mechanical tools. The result was that this mechanical routine was either stripped of its non-essentials until it became a serviceable implement or was discarded entirely for the old-fashioned inaccurate rule-of-thumb method. A system is not a card or a filing cabinet; it is the right way of doing a thing. Similarly, Mr. Taylor's method of Scientific Management does not

consist of forms or charts or of sets of rules and regulations. It is a big policy of establishing after scientific study and research a standard way of performing each industrial operation with the best possible expenditure of material, capital, and labor. The forms and rules are merely the machinery by which the policy is applied.

WHAT IS A FULL DAY'S WORK?

Back of the Taylor principles and back of his particular method of applying them to actual workshop conditions, is this affirmation of the psychologists,—that all of us, employers and employees, have but a vague conception of what constitutes a full day's work for a first-class man.

Many of us confuse overwork with what is really underwork and it is only under a compelling incentive that we discover that like the runner we have a second wind.

And the problem is not merely to ascertain what is a full day's work for the workman but to ascertain what is a full day's work for the works manager, and for the office boy and the office manager, for the salesman and the sales manager, and how to induce the performance of that full day's work.

Therefore, the precise principles Mr. Taylor has formulated for industrial operations have been applied, in most cases perhaps unconsciously, to almost all forms of commercial activity.

ESTABLISHING STANDARDS OF SALES COSTS

Perhaps this is best illustrated by the experience of a Chicago house whose products are sold at retail by a staff of traveling salesmen who come into personal contact with their customers.

The sales manager was additionally compensated over and above a certain salary by a percentage of the value of the sales made under his direction. His major effort, therefore, was directed to the increase in the gross amount of the sales, unconsciously irrespective of the profits to the house. That he eventually used in the conduct of his department methods that were expensive and extravagant in order to secure a large volume of sales was due to a gross but common error in the policy of the concern,—compensation based only on volume of sales. The monthly statement showed such a constantly increasing average of sales expense that finally the management issued an order that every expense requisition of the manager should be

approved by an official in the financial department. Friction resulted and with it the diminution of this sales manager's most valuable characteristic,—enthusiasm. The percentage of the sales expense promptly decreased and so did the volume of the sales.

To meet this situation the management, with the sales manager and a few executives of the company who were temporarily recalled from the "line" organization and placed on the "staff" for advisory purposes, went into a careful analysis of each phase of the work of that department. Assuming for the time the viewpoint of the outsider, the committee divided each operation into its details and regarded each in its relation to the whole. Gradually it established standards for practically each operation of the department. It placed a tentative standard for the gross annual sales, based on past records and on present conditions. It established a standard percentage for the cost of making these sales. It analyzed the various expenses into their several factors. It prepared from the books of account a printed sheet, ruled and tabulated to record the daily and monthly statements in such form that they would acquaint the sales manager with the expenses that he was incurring, both in percentages and units, and in relation to the sales. It studied the methods of the individual salesmen and sales managers and prepared suggestions and directions as to the best methods to be used by both. It corrected the original tentative standards, and pointed out wasteful methods in the daily work of the salesmen and in the daily work of the sales manager.

Then the management said to that sales manager:

Here is a codification of the methods under which our product is to be sold. Here are the exact percentages that we can afford to pay to make these sales. And here is our proposition to you. Your salary will remain as it is. On the gross amount of the sales you make we will pay you a certain percentage. If you can attain in sales that standard which we will set up and can attain the standard at a less percentage of expense than we have designated as a standard percentage, one-half of what you save will be yours to keep. You will approve your own requisitions for expense.

In seven months the sales doubled in volume and the expense had averaged below the predetermined standard and below any past record of performance.

THE TRUE SCIENCE OF BUSINESS

But out of all the reverberant publicity given "Scientific Management"—the term

itself has almost become standardized—what is to be gained by the average business man?

For the science of business itself, when carefully formulated, will be, after all, as Dr. Scott says, merely common sense, the wisdom of experience analyzed, formulated, codified, and all in respect to certain data.

But the data are being accumulated now. That is what business men individually and through their organizations, and business publications and educational institutions, notably the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, are doing to-day. Analyzing business the world over, picking out details, matters of routine, specific methods of management, individual plans of organization which under certain conditions have produced certain proven results—picking out, in other words, the right way of doing things, or as Mr. Taylor has expressed it, the only right way of doing things—the system.

The principles of this science of business have only just begun to be formulated. But from a study of the principles of "Scientific Management" the business man can get a new business viewpoint—a new mental attitude toward his specific business problems.

That is important. For success or failure in business depends as much upon mental attitude as upon mental aptitude. And the mental attitude that prompts one business man to make a scientific study of his own peculiar requirements and by experiment determine the most effective ways of getting the thing done—whether the task is carrying a pig of iron or selling a carload of canned corn—is the mental attitude that makes for business success.

If production costs have been high, the manager's method of attacking the problem in the past has been simply to try to lower wages or to add machinery. If selling costs have increased, he has tenaciously tried to increase selling prices. And in all of his movements he has usually been guided by accounting that was merely historic—not prophetic; by standards based on past performances—not carefully analyzing possible performances.

But a changed mental attitude suggests a new approach. If costs of production are high the business man will study the equipment that he already has. He will study workmen and ascertain scientifically just what is a full day's work for these workmen and what will help and will induce them to perform this full day's work. When selling expenses rise he will look first to the men who by words of mouth or by written words sell

his product. And he will examine the standards against which these men are working and the exact methods that they use.

RESULT: LOWER PRICES

The effect upon the purchasing public of the introduction of Scientific Management will in the beginning be negligible. As long as its application is confined to occasional individual businesses, the economies that it will effect will be internal and the profit will be restricted largely to the local management. But as a scientifically managed plant, because of its lower costs of production, can eventually undersell its competitors, the same methods of management will eventually become universal and the economies will be shared by the industry generally and thus become external. The inevitable result will be a lowering of prices to the customer.

INCREASING THE WORKMAN'S VALUE TO HIMSELF

Because of the fact that scientific direction of labor is an increase in the production of the worker as a unit and of the organization as a whole, its principles have at times been opposed by various bodies of workmen who, through a misconception of their real purpose and with the knowledge of the universally recognized defects of the ordinary piecework system, have branded Scientific Management offhand as merely another effort to "speed up" the workmen. In reality the new management aims primarily not to increase the strain on the worker by forcing him into redoubled effort, but to apply his effort to greater advantage. It places at his disposal methods and machinery that have proven, by actual test, to be the most economical of his time and strength. It furnishes him with instructors (known as "functional foremen") who are more experienced in certain phases of his task than he himself, through whose supervision he is enabled to use these methods and machinery to best advantage. By a system of records, it determines the workmen's special capacities that permit him to be set at the work at which he is most proficient. And by means of a bonus system it provides for the adequate remuneration of the worker not on the basis of effort expended, but upon the more modern basis of effort practically applied and expressed in units of production. As a consequence, the workman's value to himself and to the organization is increased, as rapidly and as highly as his capabilities permit.

PRESIDENT-CHOOSING—OLD WAYS AND NEW

BY VICTOR ROSEWATER

(Member of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee)

HISTORY records that George Washington was chosen President of the United States without first having been nominated and even without an opposing candidate. So was his successor in office, John Adams. In the language of the street, the Presidency was, in the case of each of these distinguished patriots, "handed to him on a silver platter." The Presidency went, as it were, by common consent to the founders of the republic to whom a grateful people looked for continued service and guidance.

In the early days President-choosing, according to the primitive way, was as simple compared to modern methods as a kindergarten exercise beside a course in four-dimension mathematics. Since then the changes, although gradual, have been marked and have led up to our present complicated convention nominations that make the Electoral College but a mechanical device for registering the popular decision as between rival party organizations. It was the fluke that almost installed Aaron Burr as President, instead of Thomas Jefferson, that forced the initial modifications of the plan of President-choosing agreed upon by the framers of the Constitution.

Originally, members of the Electoral College were to vote for two persons, the one receiving the highest number of votes to be President and the next highest to be Vice-President. The danger of a succession that would pull the political lever each time from one side to the other made imperative the change by which the Electors should vote for only one person for President and for another for Vice-President. Two or three object-lessons, too, of irresponsible and haphazard action by the Electoral College, throwing the choice of President to the House or of Vice-President to the Senate because no one had a majority of the votes cast, showed the necessity of centering the efforts of the newly aligned political parties each on a single Presidential ticket and of imposing on the members of the Electoral College a moral obligation to cast their ballots uniformly for the nominees of the party which had elected them.

The forerunner of our national nominating convention was the caucus or conference of members of Congress of the same political faith who got together on their own initiative and without any mandate from their constituents assumed to advise as to who, in their judgment, was entitled to be recognized as the party standard-bearer. This caucus must necessarily have proved to be too crude and unsatisfactory to serve long as the President-choosing machinery. In such an assemblage, only those States and districts represented in Congress by members of one and the same political party had a voice and all the others were left without representation. It was to remedy these defects and to enable the rank and file of the parties, wherever they might be, to exercise at least a nominal control of the Presidential nomination that the national convention, meeting every four years, came to be evolved as we know it.

IS THE NOMINATING CONVENTION A FAILURE?

The first of these nominating conventions, made up of delegates commissioned for that purpose, met in 1832, more than forty years after the first Presidential election. To be sure, the credentials of membership were not too critically scrutinized, nor were there full delegations from each State in the Union in the early conventions; yet they were really representative, and their nominations were, as a rule, accepted as the official decrees of their respective parties. In time, national committees were appointed to carry on the work of the campaign and to act for the party in arranging the preliminaries of the next convention. A form of party organization, with a fundamental law of party government and rules to be observed by conventions and committees, came into existence, was perfected and modified to meet new conditions, and became the established custom and constitution of the political parties.

The promulgation of Presidential tickets by national nominating conventions com-

posed of delegates chosen in convention to represent State and Congressional districts in the same number (later in double the number) of Senators and Representatives in Congress has prevailed for more than seventy-five years. All our Presidents since Andrew Jackson have come to us by this way, and to say that President-choosing by convention is an utter failure and is a denial of popular government is an indictment of almost the whole political history of our country.

That there are no defects in the existing convention system calling for remedy, I would be the last to assert. The greatest weakness is the arbitrary apportionment without relation to party strength in the various States. The persistence with which those already in official place force themselves into the conventions and as delegates seek to make and unmake the executive, who in theory forms a coördinate and independent branch of the government, is another. The opportunities for special interests to exert their influence under cover through these and other agencies constitute still another fault, although they would doubtless also be exerted to greater or less degree in any form of President-choosing.

SHALL WE ADOPT THE DIRECT PRIMARY?

It is now being declared by some that the national nominating convention has quite outlived its usefulness and must soon give way to a nation-wide primary for direct choice of Presidential candidates. President-choosing by direct primary is proclaimed the closest approximation to true democracy. It must be admitted that the idea thus advanced is in itself attractive — that theoretically a Presidential primary is the logical outgrowth of the direct primary for nominating candidates for local and State offices. The propaganda for a new way of President-choosing, apparently revolutionary, warrants an inquiry as to what assurance it offers of curing existing evils, how far it is feasible, and if feasible, how such a change would have to be brought about. Discussion of this subject is, I believe, timely because Oregon at the last election adopted an act, submitted by initiative petition, applying its primary law to the selection of national convention delegates and a preferential expression on Presidential candidates. If other States should follow the lead of Oregon, we are assured, the popular nomination of Presidential candidates would be achieved.

CAN THE STATES REGULATE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS?

The new Oregon primary law is separable into two parts. The first has to do with the choice of national convention delegates. In requiring that these delegates be chosen by direct primary, Oregon is not breaking ground, because Wisconsin's primary law has for several years embraced this feature and Wisconsin sent delegates to the 1908 national conventions so chosen, as did also several other States, some like California and Ohio, by virtue of primaries ordered by the State organizations under optional or permissive laws. The power of a State to enact legislation governing national conventions has, however, been seriously questioned. In 1908 the subject was referred by the Republican National Committee to three of the ablest lawyers in the country, who agreed that these conventions were entirely extra-legal and beyond the jurisdiction of State lawmakers, and possibly also of federal lawmakers, and that all the States could do was to regulate the machinery of primary elections within their own geographical limits and to govern the conduct of party committees in charge of State or local campaigns. The vital point is that each national convention is itself the plenary power of the political party in the nation and that its decrees are independent of any law-making body and paramount to any enacted laws in conflict with them.

Let me illustrate by recalling that the Republican party has a definitely established dual unit of representation, the State for delegates-at-large and the Congressional district for district delegates. For each delegate an alternate is to be chosen in the same manner as the principal, and commissioned to act for him in the event of disability or absence. When the Legislature of Democratic Mississippi undertook to require all delegates to be selected in State convention, conforming to the Democratic unit of representation, which is the State, it made compliance with this law, by which all the districts but one might be left without delegates, a defiance of the conditions laid down by the Republican national convention, which is the highest party tribunal.

Again, Wisconsin's primary law, as originally enacted, provides that while the delegates must be chosen by direct primary in each representative district, the alternates should all be appointed by the State committees of the respective parties. The alternates, therefore, might be named without

regard to districts and should the contingency arise by which the delegates were unable to act and the alternates be called on to serve, the Republicans of various Congressional districts might be completely disfranchised.

OREGON'S NEW LAW

The newly adopted Oregon law collides with the custom of the convention in more than one place. Under the Oregon law a special primary is to be held once every four years on the forty-fifth day before the first Monday in June, at which all the delegates apportioned to that State are to be chosen by direct vote, but no elector is to vote for more than one delegate. Oregon's law wipes out entirely the recognized Republican unit of representation in the Congressional district and seeks to make all the delegates delegates-at-large. Not only this, but it would deprive every member of a party in Oregon of his equal voice in Presidential nominations enjoyed by members of the party in other States.

INCONSISTENT WITH EXISTING PRACTICE

To explain more in detail, under the existing rule every member of the Republican party is entitled to a voice in the selection of six national delegates, namely, the four delegates-at-large for his State and the two delegates for his district; every member of the Democratic party is similarly entitled to a voice in the selection of not less than six delegates and may have a voice in the selection of the whole number to which his State is entitled. The Oregon law would limit the franchise of each party member to the selection of a single delegate. The Oregon law further fails to make any provision whatever for electing alternates. Incidentally, it should not be overlooked that the last Republican national convention itself adopted, without dissent, rules to govern the make-up of the next Republican national convention, and that while these rules leave the method of electing delegates to be prescribed in the call issued by the National Committee, they expressly require the alternates to be chosen at the same time and in the same manner as the delegates.

How easily the Oregon law could be nullified if there were any purpose to do so is plain. It specifies a fixed date (which in 1912 will be April 19) for the Presidential primary, assuming that the several national nomi-

nating conventions will invariably be held in June and July as usual. But the dates of the conventions are wholly within the control of the several party organizations and could be put in January or March or any other month that seemed preferable. If the conventions were called to meet in advance of Oregon's primary day, the Oregon plan would never get started.

The second part of the new Oregon primary law has to do with a preferential expression on President and Vice-President as advisory instructions on the national convention delegates. Neither is this feature unique, although so far as I can learn, it is the first instance of a law providing for such a straw ballot under official supervision. Ohio held a State-wide primary in 1908 designed to determine the choice of Ohio Republicans as between two Ohio candidates, but the supporters of only one candidate entered into the spirit of it and the overwhelming endorsement of Mr. Taft did not prevent the delegates from two Congressional districts voting against him, thus depriving him of the benefit of a solid delegation from his own State.

But in Oregon the names of Presidential and Vice-Presidential possibilities are to be filed, with or without their consent, in the same manner as are names of candidates for State office and printed on the primary ballot. Their merits and demerits are to be set forth in the official campaign book and the vote is to be canvassed and certified to each of the elected delegates of the same political party. No penalty is prescribed for any delegate who declines to be governed by this advice and each delegate is left to determine how long, if at all, he should continue to cast his ballot for the ostensible choice of his constituency. The hope is expressed by the sponsors of the new way that the vote of such an intelligent and discriminating electorate as Oregon boasts, especially if it discloses an emphatic preference for one particular standard-bearer in any party, will have a potential influence on the delegates from other States and point to them the only nomination that can command popular support. The extent to which this influence could go would, of course, depend on whether the delegates of other States were chosen and instructed before or after this vote.

VOTING ON CANDIDATES IN OPEN PRIMARY

Be that as it may, let me note in this connection that the Oregon primary is the so-called open primary and that nothing what-

ever, in the law or practice, prevents any one there from voting any party ticket regardless of his own party affiliations or his intention to vote the same party ticket in the subsequent election. In other words, there is nothing to prevent Republicans from helping the Democrats to choose their Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees, and vice versa, or packing the straw vote for an unpopular and weak candidate for the express purpose of having an easy mark to combat in the campaign. This difficulty would not be presented so strongly in a closed primary with participation confined to avowed and known members of each political party, but with the open primary, if the piecemeal Presidential primary proved to be what is claimed for it, assurance that the strongest man would be the high man would still be wanting.

THE "DARK HORSE"

As chief merits of the Presidential primary are set forth that it would make the "dark horse" impossible and would tend to eliminate the "favorite son," both results contributing to reduce the power of "special interests" to trade in the nominations for their own subservient or trusted representatives. The extinction of the "dark horse" would unquestionably follow a requirement barring aspirants not listed on the primary ballot. American history reveals some interesting "dark horses"; Garfield would never have been President had we then had this new way of President-choosing; Bryan would never have talked himself into a nomination on a cross of gold and crown of thorns; Roosevelt would not have succeeded the lamented McKinley. Yet the "dark horse" is admittedly an extra-hazardous risk; there would be compensating benefits to offset the loss.

THE "FAVORITE SON"

When it comes to eliminating the "favorite son" by direct primary process, that is more doubtful. What is to prevent a "favorite son" from filing in each State where a Presidential preference is to be recorded and why should not "State pride" prompt cross-marks after the name most familiar because the "home man" is an esteemed neighbor? If a "favorite son" springs forth in each State, or has his name filed by interested parties

actuated by either legitimate or questionable motives, the votes thus diverted must come from the real candidates and prevent the returns of the primary election from reflecting the true state of public sentiment or serving as a dependable guide for delegates from other States. In fact, the setting up of "favorite sons" would be as much and more a thriving business under a Presidential primary than under the convention scheme. If other States, or all the States, copied Oregon's Presidential primary law, the national nominating conventions would still in all probability be called upon to choose the standard-bearers much the same as they do now, and the preferential vote would exert the same sort of influence as the instruction passed by conventions and the straw votes taken here, there, and everywhere by self-appointed monitors.

How, then, shall we ever get to an effective direct popular choice of Presidential nominees if it is thought desirable? My answer is that it must come through the national organizations of the political parties themselves or through Congressional legislation, for which perhaps a constitutional amendment may be prerequisite. Any one of the national party organizations can at will introduce the direct primary for President-choosing and either do away with national nominating conventions altogether or continue them only for platform-making and the contingency of no nomination at the polls. A constitutional amendment could abolish the Electoral College, which we all know has become mainly ornamental, and give us direct popular election of Presidents. It could predicate such an election on a direct primary nomination or it could combine it with a preliminary election and a subsequent by-election to determine between the Presidential race horses polling the highest votes in the trial heat. Such changes in our machinery of government would be decidedly radical and are not to be expected to materialize in a day or a year. If the demand for direct Presidential nominations, however, should become general and insistent, one of the political parties might respond to it in the hope of striking a popular chord and scoring an advantage over the political enemy. In the meanwhile the sporadic efforts of Oregon, and States that may follow suit, to project a Presidential primary on the installment plan must be at best only experimental.

WILL THERE BE A NEW PARTY?

BY JAMES A. EDGERTON

ONE of the most significant results of the late election was that in Pennsylvania. There an independent candidate for Governor left the Democratic nominee a bad third and almost defeated the machine of Quay and of Penrose. If such an outcome is possible in boss-ridden Pennsylvania, what might not be accomplished in the entire nation?

The great race made by the Keystone party becomes all the more significant in view of the fact that for several months the whole country has been talking of a new party. One of the earliest public references to the subject occurred in the speech of Hugh T. Halbert, president of the Roosevelt Club of St. Paul. It was at the banquet where Gifford Pinchot made his now famous speech demanding that the special interests be driven out of politics. Mr. Halbert then said that a new party had already been formed, that though without a name it was not without principles and that its leaders were Theodore Roosevelt and the club's honored guests, Gifford Pinchot and James R. Garfield. Both of these gentlemen spoke later, but neither took the trouble to deny Mr. Halbert's statement. After the press of the country had commented on the matter, however, and many papers had connected Pinchot with the utterance, he and Garfield did join in a statement denying that either of them had proposed the actual organization of a new party.

It was not long after the St. Paul episode that a progressive paper in Des Moines called for a national conference at Kansas City to form a new party. It designated several men as the leaders of the proposed organization, among them Theodore Roosevelt and Wm. J. Bryan. Several progressive Senators and Representatives were also named.

The third reference to a new party that I recall was made by former Senator R. F. Pettigrew, of South Dakota. In an interview Senator Pettigrew strongly urged the need of such an organization and expressed the belief that if started it might sweep the country in 1912. More recently a meeting of the Knights of Labor adopted resolutions demanding a thorough reduction of the tariff and intimated that if the Democrats did not attend to this a new party might be formed that would.

These are but a few of many like references that I personally recall. Although the new party idea has been frequently disclaimed by insurgent leaders it has apparently possessed sufficient vitality to survive these denials. Only the other day I read in some agricultural paper an item signed by the initials of the editor suggesting that a new party was actually being formed without any preconcerted movement to that end. Still later came an editorial in the *Chicago Inter Ocean* sarcastically inviting Colonel Roosevelt to marshal the hosts of the New Nationalism into a third party and thus clear the atmosphere. It asserted that the Colonel had long harbored the new party idea as was proved by his Osawatomie speech. These and numberless other utterances on the subject only go to show that it is in all men's minds. It is a sort of minor chord running through the thought of the nation. It is a big but as yet undefined possibility lurking in the political background. Now the point to all this is that where everybody is thinking of a given thing as a possibility a very slight event or combination of events may precipitate that very thing as an actuality.

Aside from these suggestive but inconclusive facts, are there not more tangible signs of the formation of a new party contained in the political situation itself? As a matter of fact, there is an actual line of division cutting across both existing parties. On the Republican side this line is quite clear, separating the organization into two warring groups that are more antagonistic than the Republicans and Democrats. It is a mistake to say that the progressive movement sprang into being at the beginning of the present Congress. The struggle between the progressives and reactionaries went on while Roosevelt was President. It has only become more acute and open during the present administration. Whatever may be said to the contrary, the two factions are farther apart to-day than ever before. The President's efforts to produce harmony would be more effective were no principle involved. It is possible to compose differences that are only personal. But where fundamental policies are at stake, compromise means sacrifice of principle by one side or the other. This is an impossible sort

of harmony. It may delay the contest, but does not settle the issue.

For the Republican party again to become united it must be either all reactionary or all progressive. That it will ever again be all reactionary is so improbable as to require no discussion. Will it then be all progressive? In the newly elected Congress the regulars have more than two to one over the progressives in the Republican membership of the House and more than three to one in the Republican membership of the Senate. To say that this one-half or one-third will rule the party would be the proverbial tail wagging the dog. The reactionaries are by no means annihilated. Dazed they may be, but before they will finally relinquish control of the organization they have ruled so long there will be a more serious battle than has yet occurred. Already the tariff and corporation forces are reforming their lines. In the main they have the President with them. True, he has invited the insurgents into conference, has promised to restore their patronage and has spoken in his message for a parcels post, physical valuation of railroads, and a stronger tariff commission. Yet on the two main questions of the tariff and the trusts, he has recommended that there be no farther present legislation.

While the President defends Ballinger and the Payne-Aldrich bill, while he holds to his present advisers and advocates ship subsidies, he is not liable to go far in the direction of harmonizing the insurgents. The other regular Republican leaders can do even less to that end, for they are less progressive than Mr. Taft. Already a large and influential section of them are advising a return to the policies of Hanna and McKinley and to the days of large campaign contributions as the only means of winning elections. Whatever the President may attempt to do, this element would dearly love to throw La Follette and his followers overboard.

As for the Democrats, they are more harmonious, at least for the time being. Yet their party has been divided into Bryan and anti-Bryan camps and the moment they are in power the old lines of cleavage are almost certain to reappear. Bryan still has his hold on millions of Democrats and even if he were personally eliminated Bryanism would remain. As a matter of fact the same fight between progressive and reactionary is on in the Democratic as in the Republican party. This has been made apparent by the fight between Governor-elect Wilson and former Senator James Smith in New Jersey. It will

become more evident as soon as the Democrats are in responsible control of the House of Representatives. The inevitable result will be that the progressives of both parties will vote together, as they already have done on so many occasions, and that the reactionaries of both parties will vote together. Thus in spite of themselves they will become adjusted to the new and natural alignment.

The old partisanism is dying out and the new partisanism is arising. In the late election the people voted for Democrats only where they had no progressives to vote for. In Tennessee they could turn to a Republican against the Democratic machine.

It is folly to seek to win battles with a divided army. Bryan tried that through three disastrous campaigns, Parker attempted it in one still more disastrous, Hearst met his Waterloo in New York in the same fashion and Roosevelt split on that rock in 1910. If we are to have progressive victories we must have an all-progressive party with which to win them. We cannot go forward by switching from one half-and-half party to another half-and-half party. Political divisions as they now exist are an anachronism. They are of the past rather than of the present. They are a matter of names rather than of principles. They are not only illogical but in the long run are impossible. The real line of cleavage is between progressive and reactionary, and it is only a question of time when political parties will be made to conform to this actual division.

It is a fact not without interest, and perhaps not without significance, that every eighteen or twenty years a new party has been formed that in a general way represented the rights of the people as against special privilege and that attained considerable proportions. In 1854 the Republican party was born. In 1874 the Greenback party came into existence. At one time it polled nearly one million votes and by fusion with the Democrats elected several governors and members of Congress. In 1892 the People's party appeared. Two years later it polled almost two million votes. At one time it had a half dozen governors, as many Senators and in the neighborhood of twenty members of the House of Representatives. Eighteen years from 1892 brings us to 1910, or if twenty years be considered the period, that brings us to 1912. This consideration is lent added force by the striking circumstance that at this very juncture the country is discussing and seemingly expecting a new party and that the progressive movement has arisen in much the

same way that these other movements arose and represents in a general way the same tendencies. In all except name it is really in itself a new party. All that remains to make the parallel complete is for it to declare for independent political action.

Socialists profess to believe that theirs is the new party that is to sweep the country. This year their vote has advanced to something more than 500,000 and they elected a number of minor officials, such as members of State legislatures, and one representative in Congress. For my own part I do not believe the American people will ever accept Socialism, or at least not as now advocated and not for years to come. In Milwaukee, where its greatest strength has been attained, its city administration has not stood for socialistic principles but rather for civic reform. Mr. Victor L. Berger, the man in control of the Milwaukee situation, practically admits that if the Socialist mayor and council had sought to enact the whole Socialist program they would not this year have carried the city.

Another illuminating fact is that the Socialist vote gains only in years when the Democratic party is not radical. In 1900, when Bryan was a candidate, the Socialist vote in the entire nation was less than 100,000. In 1904, when Parker was the Democratic nominee, the Debs vote jumped up to more than 400,000. In 1908 Mr. Bryan was again the standard bearer and the Socialist vote remained almost stationary. Now that Bryan is apparently eliminated it is once more increasing. This would indicate that it is a negative rather than a positive force. Talks with many men who have voted the Socialist ticket reveal this to be the exact fact. They did it as a protest against the old parties and because there was no truly progressive party in the field. In other words the increased vote for the Socialists only gives a slight indication of what would happen if there were a new party of reform principles and along distinctively American lines. The phenomenal vote for Berry in Pennsylvania gave an even stronger indication.

Moreover, the growth of the Socialist vote in itself furnishes a powerful argument for the formation of a progressive party of more moderate principles. To the average American the social ownership of all the means of production and distribution is a dream. But brought face to face with even the possibility of such a program winning he would draw back and seek to find a more practical way out. In other words an extremely radical party, if strong enough, may stimulate mod-

erately radical action. Socialism is now impossible just as the old stand-pat reactionism is impossible. Is there not between these two extremes a middle course that the people can follow?

The late election definitely and finally repudiated the stand-patters. That is the one general and certain result that is clear. The outcome, however, is largely negative, unless something better, something constructive, arises to take the place of that which has been discarded. Personally I do not believe that the Democratic party can meet the situation. As already stated, its very effort to grapple with the problem in a responsible way will discover it to be as badly divided as the Republicans. For one thing it has no definite program on which all, or even a majority, of its members agree. On the tariff it represents all shades of opinion from free trade to the highest protection on particular interests—the special interest favored depending on the district of the member voting. The most enlightened thought of the country favors a tariff commission and revision one schedule at a time rather than by the old log-rolling methods. Yet a majority of the Democrats seem hostile to the new way and appear determined to cling to the old despite its inefficiency and scandal. The high cost of living, on which the last election turned, is still with us. What will the Democrats do, what can they do on the lines they propose, to correct this condition? The election of 1910 was not so much a Democratic victory as a Republican defeat. The Democrats are on probation. What if they fail, as they seemingly must fail? The people of the country are in no temper for further partisan failure to meet their demands. If the Democrats of the coming Congress reveal themselves as divided and inefficient, what then? Will the voters again turn to the stand-pat reactionism of the Republican majority? Will they turn to the President, who still upholds Ballinger, who still defends the Payne-Aldrich bill and who puts off tariff revision for a year or longer? Or will they turn to the progressives, who have a definite, practical, constructive policy in line with the popular demands, and make of these a party after their own hearts that will do the things they want done? Which is the probable course? Which would be the sensible course?

At this very time there is a movement on foot to form a Progressive League, national in scope and non-partisan in character. Its purposes will be to advance legislation in the interests of the people, to reduce the tariff and

the cost of living, to control the corporations, to bring about physical valuation of railroads, to eliminate graft and bribery, to purify elections, to promote direct primaries, direct election of Senators and direct legislation, to drive the bosses and special interests out of politics and in general to forward the progressive cause. True, this, if generally organized, will not be a new party; but it could very readily be turned into one, should the occasion arise.

The labor forces are ready for independent political action. Vast bodies of farmers are rapidly becoming ready. The Farmers' Union, for example, stands for progressive principles. While it is pledged as an organization not to go into politics, there is nothing to prevent its individual members from doing so. The Grange is moving along these same progressive lines. The whole country is ripe for a new departure. The election of last year was only a prelude to that which is to be.

The railroad question is as acute as at any time in the past. If the threatened increase in freight rates is brought about, as now seems probable, it will become more acute. Despite all the legislation, little of a remedial nature has actually been done. It will not take long to demonstrate that along present lines little can be done.

Despite the outcry and attempted legal procedure against the food trusts and other agencies that corner the necessities of life their grip is as firm as ever. Before such vital problems, of what good are outworn party names? Why should not the people forget their old divisions and unite for their own protection?

In my own opinion the new party is already born, even though its members do not yet recognize the fact. Mr. Halbert was wiser than he knew in announcing its advent and in stating that though without a name it is not without principles. But it is not without a name. It has been fighting a battle in Congress and in the primaries and during that struggle the people themselves christened it. It is the Progressive party. It has already freed the House of Representatives, broken the Aldrich machine in the Senate, exposed and partially defeated the scheme of private interests to grab the country's remaining natural resources, made the Payne-Aldrich tariff a stench in the nostrils of the people,

driven out many of the political bosses with the flaming sword of direct nominations and put the army of stand-pat reactionism to utter rout. It has divided the Republican party and will divide the Democratic party if that organization does not show itself thoroughly and efficiently progressive. The reform wave that has advanced, then receded, is once more returning with added force. Despite the uncertainties of leaders, the American people themselves know what they are about. It is they who constitute the Progressive party. They formed it, named it and will yet make it an independent political entity. Through it as an instrument they will work their will. They are tired of fighting their battles with divided armies, of depending on organizations whose power of coherence is in a name rather than in a principle, of turning from one party that is inefficient to another that is still less efficient. Having discarded fictions and pretenses they are ready for actualities. They hearken to the voice that said, "Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward." They are of the same stock and spirit as those who formed the republic of Washington and preserved that of Lincoln; and they will yet rescue and perpetuate the republic of our day.

Parties are but the symbols of issues. The new issues are here and the new party is born to represent them.

Every indication now is that William H. Taft will be the nominee of the Republican national convention in 1912. At the same time it is certain that a large section of that convention will be for Senator Cummins or some other progressive candidate. Will the insurgents acquiesce in the naming of Taft? Can they do so and be true to their principles and to the American people? Will not the very logic of the situation, the very force that impelled them to start the progressive movement, then drive them to declare their independence and to name a third ticket? With a conservative like Judson Harmon as the Democratic candidate, such a progressive ticket would draw to itself multiplied thousands of advanced Democrats. This would be the actual launching of the new party. For one I regard some such a result as both desirable and inevitable. It would clear the atmosphere, define the issue and drive the selfish interests all on one side where the people could fight them in the open.



WILL THERE BE A NEW PARTY? A DEMOCRAT'S ANSWER

BY S. STANWOOD MENKEN

(Member of the Executive Committee of the New York Democratic League)

IN the sense that a political party is composed of men of like political ideas, I believe that a new political party has been born. Its members are in both of the old parties, and in the absence of the sincere adoption of progressive principles by one or the other of the present parties the organization of a new party as such to solve the problems confronting us will be brought about.

The Democratic party if true to its traditional principles should be the progressive party, adopting in the main the propaganda of the progressives, much of which is Democratic in its origin and fairly consistent with that party's platform.

I trust that the Democracy will recognize this obligation, but before this can be done the Democracy must face a serious internal struggle.

That there must also be a new alignment of party membership seems clear. The growth of the country, the facility for intercommunication, has lessened the opposition to centralization to such a degree that greater federal direction in many ways is recognized as a necessity, and many Democrats as well as Republicans are in favor of it, provided it be surrounded with proper safeguards.

The tariff is now recognized as a "local issue" (to borrow General Hancock's famous phrase) to be adjusted with regard to general economic rather than individual needs, and such being the case there is little basis of distinction as to principle between the two parties, unless we agree that the future will find us with a conservative party representing wealth and reaction, and a progressive party responsive to the needs of the hour, and it may be a consistently radical party without interference with legitimate business interests.

The suggestion is now made that Roosevelt, LaFollette, and others will convert the Republican party into a radical party and that when this occurs the Democratic party will become the conservative party, representing the so-called "interests," or privilege-owning classes, who will furnish it with the financial means for victory at the polls, and the intimation also follows that as now constituted these interests regard the Demo-

cratic party as the safer party for them, a view largely taken in the last New York State campaign by men identified with important corporations.

There is, however, a large body of Democrats who feel that the party must not allow itself to be controlled by the interests and that it must drive the interests away from it, and that it can only do so by adopting and living up to a platform so progressive as to make any alliance between the vested interests and the holders of privilege within the Democracy impossible.

In the internal struggle, however, the Democracy has to purge itself of these Democrats for profit, and whether it is to be the progressive party must depend upon the result of this contest. To succeed in this endeavor we must recognize that the problems suggested by the progressives are not only economic and political but have their basis in matters largely ethical and gravely personal.

The cry must not be only for specific reforms advocated but for the elimination of the men who stand for graft and privilege. These men are equally in force in both parties. They work together or separately as the interests may dictate. They are obstructionists to real reforms, and their influence must be destroyed, otherwise we shall have pretensions and palliatives instead of remedies. The Democratic party for the future must recognize that there cannot be any reform meriting success so long as they have a vestige of influence in the party.

The extent to which both parties in our great cities are controlled by the notoriously unfit and the power of the autocratic rule of the bosses is too patent to require discussion. In clearing the way, however, for the advent of a new party this element must be primarily dealt with, as it constitutes our gravest national evil, the extent of which is not limited to local misgovernment or temporary wrongs to the city, State, or nation through which the corrupting influence radiates, but makes certain economic waste, saps national vitality, and destroys the potentiality of America and Americans.

It might also be added that it destroys faith in

republican institutions, and so has a world-wide effect on all liberty-loving people. Its origin is the neglect and indifference of the average citizen to his civic duties; its cure, a higher sense of responsibility. To awaken the people should be the great work of the progressives.

In stating this, nothing new is suggested, but it is given here as the viewpoint of what should be the ground plan of any progressive party, and while agreeing with the principle

stated by Mr. Edgerton that the progressives should "drive the bosses out of politics," it is submitted that they should drive the people in and having driven them into politics keep them interested all the time.

If the Democratic party is strong enough to prevail in this struggle over those who are interested in it for personal purposes, then it can properly be the progressive and dominant party.

WILL THERE BE A NEW PARTY? A REPUBLICAN'S ANSWER

BY JOHN A. STEWART

(President of the Republican League of Clubs)

NO conclusion can be drawn from facts relating to the present political situation upon which can be predicated a belief that either a third party is about to be organized or is necessary. Parties are born in response to great moral exigencies, not "made to order." The degree of their permanency as affirmative influences for progress depends upon their ability to meet constructively those great moral issues which assume form and substance with each recurring generation. There must, broadly speaking, be excepted from such characterization one class of party organizations, of which the Democratic party has been for years and is yet the most conspicuous example afforded during practically our entire political history. The present Democratic party developed almost immediately, in its minority, into a party of negation, obstruction, and, under the tutelage of Burr and Clinton, of machineism.

Three times in its history it has been conspicuously only a party of correction. It has continued from Jefferson's time to the day of Bryan and Harmon as the party that opposes, save during periods when, owing to peculiar exigencies, it has been obliged to offer and to attempt to carry out a constructive policy at times diametrically opposed to its reputed principles. In the meeting of such needs it has more than once had to go for inspiration and enlightenment to that progressive sentiment which, organizing under Washington and Hamilton, has had the genius and intelligence successfully to meet when in control of the government every great, vital, national issue.

Under a form of government such as ours, the people, with reference to any particular question of more than local import, divide naturally into two groups, and as naturally these groups may be classified as the constructive, affirmative group, and the negative, "the Opposition" group, or, as six months ago, "the Outs." Since the foundation of the Republic, the line of demarcation in partisanship has disclosed two great sentimental movements, the exemplars and exponents of the one being George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and John Marshall, and of the other Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Andrew Jackson, and James Buchanan. It is an interesting commentary on the instability and uncertainty of party mind that in numerous instances the leaders of either side have, for reasons of political expediency or because of a natural social and economic development, appropriated as their own policies which have seemed to be the peculiar property of the other. Nevertheless, throughout our political history, the line of demarcation between the ideas of Hamilton and the policies of Jefferson can be very distinctly followed from 1789 to the present.

Again, a careful studying of American political history clearly discloses the fact that third parties are not and cannot in the very nature of things be a permanent political condition. Yet it must also be conceded that there has been almost from the beginning of the Republic a third party which has existed without name and without permanent place upon the ballot, namely, the independent voter, that mighty influence of correction and

punishment which has dealt summarily with either party when the party in opposition has been impotent to compel reform. That this third party exists to-day as proof of the ability of the American people, even under laws and methods of party management which are a crying disgrace, temporarily at least, to chastise insolent partisan guilt, is clearly demonstrated in the present condition of the Republican party.

This unorganized party organization called public opinion, the American moral sense, or whatever you will, by refusing to vote, elected Grover Cleveland Governor of New York, buried David B. Hill under an avalanche of popular disapproval, and aided in nominating Theodore Roosevelt President of the United States in the face of an audacious politico-financial combination. At the last election, by a refusal to vote, it overwhelmed the Republican party and served warning upon the Democratic opposition by a minority vote that it was put into power not because of any inherent virtue in Charles F. Murphy and Tammany Hall, but because of the outrageous failure of Republican managers to meet insistent demand for a popularizing of popular government and methods of nomination and election. And this same power, without organization or machinery, and needing and wanting neither, will overwhelm the Republican party in 1912 unless everywhere party managers heed this demand for drastic, thorough reorganization. Even so there can be no hope for success of any movement that would disorganize and disrupt the Republican party, and build upon its ruins a third organization under a new title which should finally absorb it.

It is, of course, pure speculation to attempt to state what would have been the present situation if Theodore Roosevelt had delayed until after election the promulgation of the Osawatimie platform. Personally, I am inclined to believe that had the Osawatimie speech been delivered after the election, at a time when the bitterness and excitement of the campaign had been followed by receptive calm, either thorough reform within the Republican party would immediately have followed, or there would have been a schism within the party which would have led to a third ticket in 1912, and consequently the election of a Democratic President.

There is nothing in the situation to-day that should lead Republicans like myself, who have always advocated the belief that the party and not the organization should

give direction to party activities, to fear that any third movement at this juncture is even possible, or that, if reforms within the organization be carried out, the Republican ticket will not be elected in 1912. With all due respect to the gentlemen mentioned by Mr. Edgerton as the possible exponents of the third-party idea, they would not, I believe, if they were ultimately to attempt to organize such a party, meet a response that would make such a movement anything more than a defeat of the Republican ticket.

Colonel Roosevelt and other progressive leaders *still* remain within the party fold, and, so far as the public knows to the contrary, they are *still* exponents of the idea that reform should be carried on within the ranks. The Republican party is still, and will continue to be, despite a fatuous, even stupid policy of party management, an efficient instrumentality for national well-being.

For, after all, parties are not built as one would build a house, but created and held together and perpetuated by sentiment and by a common interest. With each recurring generation new issues arise which are but differing phases of long unsettled questions. Always, for a time, after the joining and disposition of every great moral issue organization influence, through necessity of discipline, continues potent. But in the after period, while parties are in the waiting, as now, for great problems to assume such concrete form as will bring their meaning home to every citizen, and stir men to partisan activity, parties become broken up into groups, each group dominated by an individual or coterie of individuals. Bossism in its grossest form is the natural concomitant, and in the face of that peculiar and characteristically American contempt of statutory law and regard for authority only as it is personified in the individual abuse and corruption naturally and inevitably succeed to patriotism and civic pride. We are at present passing through the throes of such a condition. One trouble with us as party men has been that we have regarded the term Republican as applying to a fixed condition. On the contrary, the term is only a sentimental designation applied to conditions which change with each generation. There is certainly a disposition and a power within the Republican party to bring about a correction of our party faults. Out of the turmoil of factional strife must come and will come new leaders, new resolves, higher ideals, and a marked progress toward the attainment of better things.

FIGHTING AMERICAN TYPHOID

BY JOHN BESSNER HUBER, M.D.

ASIATIC cholera, for many weeks last year and up to the coming of the present winter, visited the European peoples, especially in Russia; and morning after morning the American citizen, educated, sovereign, eminently practical, not to be put upon, free as the upward-soaring lark—and all that sort of thing—has, in glancing over his newspaper, pitied those poor folk for the sufferings they had to endure by reason of their ignorance and their supineness. And as regularly, along with his breakfast cup of coffee, has the American citizen been blessing himself that he is not as those blind, bludgeoned, superstitious moujiks, who so submissively endure and die of the cholera. Pending such unctuous reflection he has held in abeyance, somewhere among the subliminal strata of his consciousness, any consideration of American typhoid.

Yet these two diseases are of precisely the same nature, except only that the bacillus known as the cholera vibrio is the specific cause of the one, and the typhoid bacillus of the other. It is just only a change in nomenclature. Of course typhoid is not so dreadful among us as is cholera in Russia; but the difference is only one of degree and not at all of kind.

They are both ingestion infections, these diseases; in both the bacillus is disseminated from the excreta of sufferers, from their vomit, and possibly—but rarely, in any event—from their sputum; both afflict human beings who take into their mouths, and thence into their digestive tracts, food or drink or any other substance in any way contaminated with the parasite. Neither cholera nor typhoid is contracted in any other way than this; neither is an air-borne infection, such as diphtheria or smallpox: for which, and other reasons to be given, the prevention of cholera and typhoid is scientifically most simple—that is, everything that needs to be known for adequate prophylaxis is now known; although the practical application of the scientific principles is not a simple matter.

Imagine the pother that would be stirred were a single epidemic of Asiatic cholera to develop this side the Atlantic. Yet with our world-famous optimism we cheerfully suffer

and die, many unnecessary thousands of us every year, of its congener, American typhoid. We have become accustomed to the latter, which is always with us; here lies the essential and the only difference. Familiarity has bred unconcern. In the census year 1900 we had 35,379 deaths, giving typhoid fourth place in our mortality list. The South suffered most; the ten States with the highest death rate (79 per 100,000) were all located south of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi.

Comparing ourselves with those infection-enduring Europeans, we find that for the years 1901-5 the annual typhoid mortality per 100,000 in Scotland was 6.2; in Germany, 7.6; in Austria, 19.9; in Hungary, 28.3; in Italy, 35.2; in these United States, 46: which means that in a single year we Americans have averaged 400,000 cases and 35,000 typhoid deaths. Some of these European countries, now having relatively low death rates, formerly had high typhoid mortalities—that is, they have benefited by the clear teachings of science; and their decidedly lower mortalities are due to the better enforcement than among us of the measures preventive of typhoid fever.

PREVENTABLE "VISITATIONS"

In my article on Asiatic cholera, in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for October, 1910, I observed how regularly, for many years, with the coming of spring, St. Petersburg has been suffering from cholera, chiefly because her people were drinking the polluted waters of the Neva, and of the canals traversing that unfortunate city, whilst near by is a most precious gift of the Almighty, a lake of purest crystal water, the aqueducting of which would long ago have ended those "visitations." Turn we now to one of our American communities, the population of which two years ago was 6000. (I am sketching its conditions at that time; I know not definitely what they are to-day.)

A WATER-INFECTED TOWN

A small river runs through that town, which besides enjoys the propinquity of

"an old canal"; the houses are crowded at the foot of the hills, and along the mountain edges, because of the overflow in the low sections during the spring freshets. For five years typhoid epidemics have developed regularly with the late winter; besides which there have been a few scattered cases in each preceding fall. Thus has this American community been confidently expecting its annual typhoid mortality, precisely as St. Petersburg expects every spring to entertain her "Asiatic guest."

From the end of January to the end of April, 1907, the zealous and excellent health officer reported 51 cases of typhoid. (There were also sporadic cases throughout that year, not related to these epidemics.) All of the 51 sufferers, except three, drank the "village water." There were numerous milk supplies, from which these patients obtained their milk. Impure milk oftentimes occasions epidemics of typhoid, but it did not in this instance; for no one dairy appears to have supplied these patients to the exclusion of the others; many inhabitants supplied equally with the patients by these dairies did not suffer typhoid; and there were no cases of this disease in the families of the milk dealers, who all produced their own milk supplies—manifestly unwatered!

Some explanation of late winter epidemics of typhoid fever may be found in the investigations of Frost and Ruediger: Typhoid bacilli disappear much more rapidly from polluted river water during the summer months than in the winter, when the stream is covered with snow and ice. The destruction of typhoid bacilli in the river water in summer is largely through the growth of microscopic vegetation and saprophytic bacteria which gives off dialyzable substances harmful to the bacillus. Such inimical activity is held in abeyance under a temperature of 0° C. (32° F.). The sun's direct rays are also a factor destructive to the bacillus; but their effects are lost when ice and snow cover the stream. Thus water-borne typhoid has its epidemics oftentimes in the late winter and the early spring.

These annual early winter epidemics were demonstrated by the New York State Department of Health to have been due to the pollution of the community's general or "village water" supply, which was derived from the river flowing through it; and the main source of the pollution was found to have been the sewage of other communities (one in particular) up-stream. Above this town there were sewers and numerous other nuisances,

some overhanging the stream. A bridge was decorated with the sign "\$10 fine for throwing refuse into the river, by order of the Board of Health"; beneath a structure adjacent to this bridge was evidence sufficient to have bankrupted that whole county, had this order received any sort of enforcement. Behind a depot near by, and above this bridge, was a Hungarian settlement with outhouses very close to the river, the material from which was from time to time hoed into the water. Near by, again, was a hotel with a closet overhanging the river. Imagine the result had typhoid carriers made "transient" visits to that hotel.

A well-defined section of the community under consideration was typhoid free; and this section used exclusively lake or spring water. There was no typhoid in the adjoining rural districts. Its water supply had been the same for a number of years past; and these late winter epidemics had not supervened until some seven years ago, when this community began to average fifty cases with the coming of spring.

And now I put it to the reader if this description will not apply in its essentials to any among hundreds of cities, towns and villages throughout these United States of ours; if this is not indeed a typical status. Sometimes the local boss, whose political affiliations are such that no one has the courage to object, maintains a manure heap back of his grog shop and adjacent to a thoroughfare. Perhaps a factory owner is invulnerable for the reason that he has done the right thing in the way of campaign contributions; possibly the owner of the factory, the sewage of which is voided into the stream, makes philanthropic gifts—and of course it would never do to trouble so benignant a personage. Inscrutable it is, how in this most advanced of civilizations human life must go under, whenever it gets in the way of greed and meanness and the vested interest!

IMPROVEMENTS IN SANITATION

Of course things are not so bad as they have been. Many communities have in the last decade done much to improve their milk and water supplies, to install better sewage disposal systems, to improve general sanitary conditions. They have come to a definite realization that defective sanitation means defective civilization. We are not likely to repeat—at least, it is earnestly to be hoped not—the experience, for example, of Plymouth, Pa., in 1885, with 1100 cases and 14

deaths; or of Ithaca, N. Y., in 1903, with 1350 cases and 82 deaths; or of Watertown, N. Y., in 1904, with 582 cases and 44 deaths; or of Pittsburg, Pa., in 1908, with 5265 cases and 432 deaths; or of Philadelphia and Scranton in the same year, the former with 9721 cases and 1063 deaths, the latter with 1155 cases and 111 deaths. All these epidemics occurred despite the fact that by attention to soil drainage and the introduction of pure water into homes typhoid fever can be practically eliminated in epidemic form.

Though much has been accomplished, though things are not so bad as they were a decade ago, much nevertheless remains of achievement.¹ In 1908 Dr. Ditman wrote:² "The cost of typhoid fever each year in sickness and death throughout America amounts to many million dollars. The sickness and death from this cause in New York City, and in the epidemics of Philadelphia, Scranton, and Pittsburg during a single year represent an economic loss to those cities of \$3,750,000; such epidemics, with their resulting losses, are startling in an age which considers itself enlightened."

CONTAMINATION OF WATER AND MILK

That Plymouth epidemic of 1885 was indicative of much. During the winter a man living on the bank of a stream that flowed into the town reservoir came down with typhoid. His excreta were thrown out on the snow; and in the spring the waters from its melting, and of the rains, washed the bacilli into the town's water supply. Typhoid fever suddenly broke out. The population was 8000; during the height of this "explosive" epidemic from 50 to 200 persons were attacked daily; altogether there were 1104 cases and 114 deaths; people who drank, not from the reservoir, but from wells, escaped.

On the other hand, the well is oftentimes to blame. A man taken ill with typhoid in a tavern has his undisinfected excreta thrown

on the ground without. Presently the family of the tavernkeeper came down with it; and following them one half the population of the neighborhood. Ten deaths were the harvest; and all the houses in which the disease appeared had taken their water from that tavern well.

Yet, though most typhoid epidemics are due to bacillus-polluted water, all are by no means to be referred to this cause. The amazingly tough parasite has remained potential in ice several months. This bacillus multiplies rapidly in milk, an excellent culture medium. The unclean hands of some one who has come in contact with the discharges of a typhoid patient may contaminate the milk; or it may be drawn into containers (cans, bottles or pails) that have been washed with infected water; or flies may introduce the germs from typhoid discharges; or germ-impregnated dust may get into the milk: at least 195 epidemics have been traced to milk contaminated on the farm. It is considered that in 1908 a single Boston milkman, who worked while suffering with typhoid, originated an epidemic of 400 cases.

Food may become contaminated in various ways; as by having been washed with unclean water, or by having the bacillus deposited upon it by the fly. The oyster, "fattened" near sewage outlets, has had its victims a-plenty; other sea food, as the lobster, has transferred the bacillus.

"TYPHOID CARRIERS"

There is danger of transmission by the "walking typhoid" patient, who is not ill enough to get the disease diagnosed, or who is too courageous to submit to the bed and treatment. Then there is the "typhoid carrier," such as the cook who had never herself had the disease, but who nevertheless, in the customary round of her engagements, infected a number of households—27 patients in five years; in another case virulent typhoid bacilli were found, though the subject has suffered his attack of the disease forty years before. Also must be considered the "typhoid contact," who has become contaminated by his association or his ministrations in typhoid cases. In the Washington epidemic of last spring it was concluded that the national capital has a good water supply and excellent sanitary supervision; despite which it has a death rate among the highest in the United States. The water supply was found to be responsi-

¹Instructive is the example set by the city of Munich: In 1856 its typhoid mortality was 2.91 per 1,000 of population. At that time the soil of the city was honeycombed with cesspools, and a large part of the water supply was obtained from wells and pumps sunk in this soil. Between 1856 and 1887 the condition of the city underwent, at several conspicuous periods, a radical sanitary reform. The cesspools were filled and the introduction of new ones was prohibited. An elaborate system of sewage was introduced, pumps and wells were abandoned, and a pure water supply was brought from a source beyond suspicion of pollution. As a result the mortality from typhoid fever fell; and in 1887 it had reached the very low rate of 0.1 per 1,000 of population, a reduction of about 96.6 per cent, in the deaths from this disease alone.—Ditman.

²N. E. Ditman: "Education and Its Economic Value in the Field of Preventive Medicine." Columbia University Quarterly, June, 1908.

ble for little if any of the disease. Careful comparison of the prevalence of flies and of typhoid cases could not elicit a relationship. Milk was the source in several localized epidemics, in one of which the infection was traced back from two dairies to one farm, the owner of which (himself in good health) was a typhoid carrier. Personal contact with the sick was in this investigation found to be a large factor in the evolution of the epidemic.

The typhoid carrier retains the germ in the gall-bladder, where it multiplies, continually discharging bacilli into the intestines.

THE UBIQUITOUS HOUSE FLY

The house fly, well named also the typhoid fly, is one of the chief factors in typhoid transmission. This indiscriminating insect finds equally congenial habitat in filth and in food; it thrives with indifference in the manure heap, and in such human food as butter and milk. We speak of typhoid as the autumnal disease, because, with regard to isolated, sporadic cases as a part from epidemics, it attains its highest mortality in the fall of the year. Many an urbanite has returned from his vacation down with typhoid, or from an automobile trip well incubated with it: whereupon those tainted wells have been blamed. Wells are certainly from time to time at fault; but probably not so often as has been assumed. Possibly the urbanite has contracted his "rural" typhoid before he ever set out on his jaunt or his holiday. The incubation period (from the time of exposure to the infection to the manifestation of the "invasion") is in typhoid about a fortnight; following upon this the disease endures a month to six weeks. Thus, counting back two months from the fall rise in typhoid deaths to the time when the disease is contracted, we shall have come upon the time when the filthy house fly prevails most. Upon his legs, his wings and his body he carries the bacilli, many thousands for each insect, in addition to those he has himself ingested. A noted physician has written about "the fly that does not wipe his feet." But he does wipe his feet; and more than that. One sees him alight upon a lump of sugar; or upon the nipple of a baby's bottle. Each pair of his six legs is vigorously rubbed together; then the wings are as conscientiously scraped; and finally the toilet is completed with a massage of the abdomen. By such process are thousands of pathogenic

bacteria deposited upon the human edible that is the fly's resting place.¹

PREVENTIVE MEASURES

We may note here that, as in all infections, there must be two factors: the presence of the bacillus, and the congenial human soil upon which this germ may thrive and multiply. Predispositions make the soil congenial; they are such untoward phenomena as overwork, poverty, starvation, previous weakening affections, which enervate the body. In typhoid, as in cholera and all infections, fear is a predisposition.

An exhaustive consideration of typhoid prophylaxis is not within the scope of this paper; the principles will be obvious from the foregoing. Circulars of adequate information are now generally distributed by municipal and State health authorities. The United States Public Health and Marine Hospital Service at Washington, D. C., provides literature which a two-cent stamp will bring to the citizen, notably two papers by Dr. L. L. Lumsden. In one of these, "What the Local Health Officer can do in the Prevention of Typhoid Fever," it is emphasized that he should: (1) Become informed as to the best known methods of prevention. (2) Secure the prompt report of recognized cases and of suspected cases, so that preventive measures may be begun early. (3) Advise and have carried out at the patient's bedside efficient methods of prevention. (4) Have preventive measures continued as long as the dejecta are infective. (5) Discover bacillus carriers, and safeguard against the spread of infection from them. (6) Secure proper disposal of sewage. (7) Prevent the introduction of infection from without through the water supply, the milk supply, and the general food supply. (8) Secure the coöperation of practicing physicians. (9) Exercise an influence in the local medical society, so that the latter may be a school of instruction in the principles of prevention, as well as in the cure of the disease. (10) Make the health office educative.

In the other of Dr. Lumsden's papers, on "What the Mayor and City Council can do in the Prevention of Typhoid Fever," it is urged that these officers should: (1) Become informed as to the nature of the infection, its modes of spread and the methods to prevent it. (2) Make disease prevention a conspicuous policy of the administration. (3)

¹ Cases supposed to be typhoid through "aerial infection" are to be explained by fly transmission.

Make efficiency the primary basis of appointments in the health office. (4) Provide adequate salaries for health officers. (5) Appropriate funds for sanitary improvements as liberally as the taxation rate will permit. (6) Provide for the collection of mortality and morbidity statistics, so that the result of sanitary work may be known. (7) Provide for the proper care of the sick. (8) Keep in close touch with and support the health officer in his work. (9) Coöperate with the authorities of other municipalities, of the State, and of the nation. (10) Teach by precept and example, the precautionary measures.

Thus, in the community which does not take kindly to the maxim that "there is no help for a contented slave," there will be active, first: The individual citizen. For prophylaxis must begin in the home. What is to be done in the family? In times of epidemic only thoroughly cooked food is eaten; all water and milk not beyond suspicion is boiled. Indigestible food is not eaten. Oysters, lobsters and the like are for the time being avoided. Filters for domestic use are generally unreliable. Wells impervious to bacteria must be constructed, after consultation with experts. Cisterns, cess-pools and closets must not be neglected because they are unpleasant to consider; they must be made sanitary. Manure heaps must be screened or put into pits; they are the chief breeding places of flies. Screens against flies are imperative in the summer, especially in the kitchen and dining room; remnants of food should be burned or otherwise made impervious to insects. The physician's instructions as to the management of the sick room and the care of the patient must be scrupulously followed by the nurse and the family; especially are the hands of the attendants to be washed frequently, disinfectants following the soap and water. Personal and household hygiene are essential. One should not bathe at beaches nor in rivers or lakes near sewer openings. No one who is sick, or who is attending typhoid patients, or in whose family there is this disease, should manipulate well buckets, or work about a pump or in a dairy. Even walking upon ground polluted with human waste, and then standing upon a well platform has resulted in pollution of the water.

Next comes the family practitioner, who generally first takes expert cognizance of the case, which it is imperative he should report.

Next comes the local health department, and its sanitary chief, the local health officer.

In typhoid, as in all prophylaxis, the government's business is twofold: To see to it that the citizen shall do all that he can in the circumstances, for himself, for his family and for the community; and in the second place to do for him, and consequently for the community, such things as he unaided is powerless to do.

Then comes the State Department of Health which (as the community does for the citizen the things he is powerless to do) does for the community the things it cannot do for itself: the eradication of pollution, the investigation of sewage problems, the vouchsafing of pure milk, the inspection of water sheds and of reservoirs (by the State and not by the private company).

Finally there is the community in its corporate capacity, as distinct from the individual, the political unit. It is the essence of our American institutions that our laws are effective only in so far as public opinion is back of them; in other words, we get always precisely the service from our government we are entitled to, no more and no less. The better citizens we are, the more surely, the more satisfactorily our laws will be enforced. And what can the citizen better work for than the conservation, through the government, of the home. Senator Root truly observed, though he was not speaking at the time of epidemics, that "after all, the thing which we have government for is the preservation of the home." So the right men should be made the public health officers; and then the body politic must be ever vigilant in upholding them, and in having the laws made for the conservation of the public health enforced. *Salus populi suprema est lex!*

In January, 1910, there was a typhoid epidemic in Montreal; and Emily MacDonnell tells in the June *Trained Nurse* how it was fought: To begin with, a small drawing-room meeting, by invitation of Professor Starkey of McGill University, was held, in which influential citizens, representing diverse creeds and nationalities, took part. Three days after, the well-equipped Montreal Typhoid Emergency Hospital was receiving patients. Next day a fund of \$60,000 was available for the campaign; thenceforth friends and finances were never lacking.

The previous autumn had seen more than the usual amount of typhoid; by early winter the number of cases was increasing steadily; Christmas found an epidemic (attributed by some, who thought these prophylactic proceedings highly sacrilegious,

to Halley's comet). The disease, in a very severe form, was confined almost wholly to the predisposed working people, who badly needed hospital care and shelter. The city's established hospitals were overflowing and daily refusing cases. The municipal authorities were dreadfully negligent, especially regarding the water supply (poetic justice was done them by their ejection from office at the polls shortly after the establishment of this typhoid emergency hospital).

Several buildings—empty factories and the like—were put at the disposal of the Typhoid Hospital Committee; a staff of two hundred workers (lay and professional) was formed, which was kept night and day up to this number. Dignity was thrown to the winds; the president of the board might be found handling a broom or nailing down a carpet as industriously as any cleaning woman; manicured hands washed and dried dishes. Women from the Salvation Army barracks were set to watching delirious patients.

In this emergency hospital the order and systematic management obtaining in a general hospital was not essential: conditions had to be faced that had never before been met; quick thinking and acting were necessary; big and little things had to get their proper value and relation; speedy and immediate relief had to be given; patients to be admitted and cared for without red tape. Lay help was indispensable; besides, the appearance in the building of representative people gave the public confidence, since "an emergency hospital has no back reputation to call on." During the three months of its existence no lay helper in this hospital was injudicious or got in the way of the professional worker. Only one attendant contracted typhoid; and his was a very mild case. The nurses remained in exceptionally good health; for the cooking was good, the ventilation was right, and daily sleigh rides were taken by those off duty, at the invitation of a "transportation company."

Though the type of typhoid was very severe, the epidemic left a mortality of but four per cent. There were no accidents, no contretemps, and everybody learned some-

thing practical about typhoid fever prevention. The unused hospital supplies, all valuable and in good condition, were packed and stored away, against any future occasion for their use. Perhaps there will not be any future occasion—in Montreal.

VACCINATION AGAINST TYPHOID FEVER

It is not unlikely we shall be vaccinating against typhoid fever, as we do now by routine against smallpox; also that we shall be using, by hypodermic injection or otherwise, curative agencies in typhoid. Here is a means of prophylaxis and cure still very much *sub judice*, nor is it by any means to be understood to have gained general acceptance in medical science. One may, however, state definite conclusions thus far reached. Inoculation against typhoid is now, I believe, a measure to which all soldiers in the British and other European armies¹ must submit. Captain F. F. Russell, of the Army Medical School at Washington, D. C., after an extensive and continual study of this subject, reports that vaccination against typhoid undoubtedly protects to a very great extent against the disease; it is an indispensable adjunct to other means of prevention among troops and others exposed to infection; the statement that vaccination should not be carried out in the presence of an epidemic is not justified by the facts at hand; the procedure is easily carried out, and only exceptionally does it provoke severe general reaction; no untoward results occurred in a series of 3640 vaccinations. Compulsory vaccination is now urged for all candidates ambitious to enter the United States Army. Typhoid vaccination is beyond peradventure advisable for the removal of typhoid bacilli from the discharges of "typhoid carriers," concerning whom no rule limiting quarantine or isolation can be applied, for the protection of others.

¹ In the British Army, for a period of three and one half years (from the beginning of 1905 to June, 1908) Leishman found that among 5473 soldiers vaccinated against the disease, 21 took it and 3 died—3.8 cases per 1000; in 6610 soldiers practically under the same conditions, who were not vaccinated, there were 187 cases and 26 deaths—28.3 per 1000 cases.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

WHAT WILL THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY DO?

WHAT Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, writing on "The Democratic Opportunity" in the *North American Review*, says, is undoubtedly true; namely, that there are hundreds of thousands of independent thinkers and voters in the land—enough to decide at any time any question of sufficient gravity to arouse their interest, and that this body of sound conservatism refuses to be bound to the chariot-wheel of any political party. This conservative element is divided between the Democrats and the Republicans.

That portion in the Democratic party withstood all the delusions on the silver question and decided the issue; and now a similar element in the Republican party has broken through the trammels of custom and has rebuked the leaders of that party for their sacrifice of the people to "the interests."

Mr. Page traces to its origin the disruption of the Republican party—a party which "has been for a generation, politically speaking, omnipotent," and which "enthroned on the Olympus of public patronage and private privilege, like Jove, has created the atmosphere in which it cast its thunderbolts." Mr. Roosevelt in enforcing Civil Service reform "struck away one prop which the Republican party had rested on"; but he left one, and it was the greatest of all. "The tariff itself, with its protection for a privileged class, created the vastest corruption fund that ever existed."

But it was the law requiring the publication of all large campaign contributions which really doomed the Republican party; for it "had abandoned its old claim to be founded on a moral principle and was frankly basing its claim to usefulness as a party solely on the protective principle—the protection of the privileged class." And when the law was put into effect, "the chief means by which the power of this subsidized party had been continued fell to the ground. Samson had overthrown the pillars, and the structure could not stand." After uttering some very trenchant remarks anent the misdoings of the Republican party,—the revision of the tariff downward (?); the attempt to bind the sins of the party on a scapegoat, Speaker Cannon; the passage by the House of Representatives of a bill adding \$45,000,000 to our pension roll—

Mr. Page comes to a discussion of the question, "What will the Democratic party do with the chance now offered it?" Will it quarrel over the loaves and fishes, or will the vision of the future lend it the self-restraint and wisdom it so sorely needs?

As to the Speakership, "it goes without saying that no Speaker should be chosen who does not recognize the fundamental right of the people to have their legislation based on due deliberation and discussion." And, in passing, Mr. Page warns the Democratic leaders that "no nostrum in the form of placing the Speakership in 'commission' through elective committees or enlarging the Committee on Rules will cure the canker which has been destroying representative government in the national assembly." He adds:

That evil which has grown so markedly of late that men have given it a name, "Cannonism," must be arrested by the House itself, which should adopt a system of rules adequate to the situation and resilient enough to be ever responsive to the will of the majority. . . . The majority is responsible to the country. The Speaker should be responsive to the majority. . . . One fact is plain. They must restore the lost principle of representative government in the House of Representatives. The people wish it. And this done, they must proceed promptly and honestly to carry out the pledges they have made to the people and abolish privilege. They must boldly cut protection down to the lowest point allowable by our economic conditions, and they must do it promptly. They were elected to do this fundamental thing. No galvanizing of dead issues will take its place.

The Democrats are reminded that this is not the first occasion that the door of opportunity has been opened to them and they have shut it upon themselves. "Let them remember the 'landslide' of 1892 and its consequences. The same thing may easily occur again. By 1912 the shattered and shaken forces of Privilege will have recovered from their overthrow and the fight will have to be made over again. Only by uniting on the fundamental principles and making mutual concessions as to personal interests can the Democracy hope to win." Though we are drifting into new political seas, we have a chart by which we may steer safely—the Constitution. Mr. Page summarizes the situation in the following paragraph:

In fine, one thing appears to be clear: that if the Democratic party is to secure the confidence of the people as the trustee of this Government, it can accomplish it in only one way: by standing forth as the champion of their rights to the limits of the Constitution and its due amendments. . . . If it attempt to fling itself into the arms of a class, whether of capitalists or of laborists, it is lost. The party of the future is the party that shall

stand for all the people and their rights under the law—for true Democracy and the Constitution.

One cheering feature is that for the first time in many years there is a choice of leaders, any one of whom will command respect and meet the most exacting standard as the representative of the national Democracy.

THE STATESMAN AND THE STUDENT—SOME NEW VIEWS ON POLITICS

THE new Governor of New Jersey in his presidential address to the American Political Science Association, printed in the *American Political Science Review*, voices some new views on the science of politics which will well repay thoughtful consideration. He defines this science to be "the accurate and detailed observation of the processes by which the lessons of experience are brought into the field of consciousness, transmuted into active purposes, put under the scrutiny of discussion, sifted, and at last given determinate form in law." He does not understand how some students of politics get along without literature, or without art, or without any of the means by which men have sought to picture to themselves what their days mean, or to represent to themselves the voices that are forever in their ears as they go their doubtful journey. If, in reading history for the "facts," they miss the "deepest facts of all, the spiritual experiences, the visions of the mind, the aspirations of the spirit that are the pulse of life," he does not see how they can understand the facts or know what really moves the world. Politics, he says, "is of the very stuff of life. Its motives are interlaced with the whole fiber of experience, private and public. Its relations are intensely human, and generally intimately personal."

Mr. Wilson's topic is "The Law and the Facts"; and he shows that whereas there was a time when nations seemed to move forward in mass, all together, their internal interests, at any rate, linked in a reasonably manifest fashion, in our day, on the contrary, there is an extraordinary differentiation. Interests have their own separate development; and the relations that have come to rule in our day in the field of law seem to be the relations of interests, rather than of individuals. In the case of the United States the development of its law has been a rapid development of

individual forces—a régime of utter individualism.

The forces as well as the men have acted independently, of their own initiative, at their own choice, in their own way. And law has not drawn them together. Our national policy has been a policy of stimulation, but of miscellaneous stimulation. Any one who clamored for legislative aid and brought the proper persuasive influences to bear could get assistance and encouragement. It was everybody for everything upon a disordered field. There was no attempt to coördinate. Our legislation has been atomistic, piecemeal, makeshift.

To find the common interest; to take the laws, the separate forces, the eager competing interests, the disordered *dissecta membra* of a system which is no system and build them together into a whole which shall be something more than a mere sum of the parts—this is the task of the new statesmanship and of students of political science. Mr. Wilson recognizes the fact that the statesman and the student of political science have not hitherto often been partners.

The statesman has looked askance upon the student—at any rate in America, and has too often been justified, because the student did not perceive the real scope and importance of what he was set to do, and overlooked much of the great field from which he should have drawn his facts,—was not a student of thought and affairs, but merely a reader of books and documents. But the partnership is feasible, with a change in the point of view; and the common interest must somehow be elucidated and made clear, if the field of action is not to be as confused as the field of thought.

I do not mean that the statesman must have a body of experts at his elbow. He cannot have. There is no body of experts. There is no such thing as an expert in human relationships. I mean merely that the man who has the time, the discrimination, and the sagacity to collect and comprehend the principal facts and the man who must act upon them must draw near to one another and feel that they are engaged in a common enterprise. The student must look upon his studies more like a human being, and the man of action must approach his conclusions more like a student.

The fact must not be lost sight of that business is no longer a private matter. In our day it is generally conducted by great companies and corporations existing only by express license of law and for the convenience of society. Law is therefore accommodating itself to the impulses of bodies of men, rather than to those of individuals. As experience becomes more and more aggregate, law must be more and more organic, institutional, constructive. And this translation of experience into law is not a purely intellectual process.

Governor Wilson does not like the term political science. "Human relationships, whether in the family or in the state, in the counting house or in the factory, are not in any proper sense the subject-matter of science. They are stuff of insight and sympathy and spiritual comprehension. I prefer the term 'politics,' therefore, to include both the statesmanship of thinking and the statesmanship of action."

Nothing interprets but vision; and ours is a function of interpretation. Nothing perceives but the spirit when you are dealing with the intricate life of men. . . . Sympathy is your real key to the riddle of life. . . . Look at men as at human beings struggling for existence. . . . Such and

such are the conditions of law and effort and rivalry amidst which they live, such and such are their impediments, their sympathies, their understandings with one another. See in them their habits as they live and perhaps you will discern their errors of method, their errors of motive, their confusions of purpose, and the assistance the wise legislator might afford them. . . . Your real statesman is first of all a great human being, with an eye for all the great field upon which men like himself struggle towards better things. . . . He is a guide, a comrade, a mentor, a servant, a friend of mankind. May not the student of politics be the same?

Mr. Wilson maintains that if you know your people you can lead them. Study them and you may know them. But they must be studied not as congeries of interests, but as a body of human souls. In such an atmosphere of thought and association even corporations may seem instrumentalities, not objects in themselves; and the means may presently appear whereby they may be made the servants, not the masters, of the people. The facts are precedent to all remedies; and the facts in this field are spiritually perceived. Law is subsequent to the facts, but the law and the facts stand related, not as cause and effect, but, rather, as life and its interpretation.

THE JAPANESE IN HAWAII,—BY A JAPANESE

"HAWAII is the paradise of Japanese." This is the opinion of Mr. K. Tsutsuda, a resident of Honolulu, who writes in a recent issue of the *Sinkoron*, a popular Tokyo monthly. In April, 1910, the population of Hawaii aggregated 191,909, of which 99,663 were Japanese. As against this Japanese population, the native Hawaiians numbered only 26,099, and the Chinese 21,699, while there was but a sprinkling of Americans. Of the remainder, a great many are Portuguese. In the city of Honolulu alone, we are told, there are 10,000 Japanese pursuing all sorts of trades. The Japanese writer continues:

The exclusion agreement entered into between Washington and Tokyo has, of course, proved a severe blow to the Japanese in Hawaii, especially those engaged in business whose prosperity depends upon Japanese patronage. Yet the agreement has not been wholly without good results. For one thing, the birth-rate among the Japanese has increased considerably. This is due to the fact that the new agreement, while prohibiting the coming of laborers, admits women who are the wives of those already residing in Hawaii. The result is that while male adult Japanese are decreasing, the number of female adult Japanese has been steadily increasing. This new situation has redounded favorably upon the moral atmosphere of the Japanese colonies.

The American Government is, the writer believes, fully alive to the serious significance involved in the rapid increase of native-born Japanese children since the enforcement of the exclusion agreement, and is trying to find means to release Hawaii from inevitable Japanese domination. To Mr. Tsutsuda, however, it appears that the native-born Japanese would prove much more desirable to the United States than those who are irrevocably wedded to the traditions and ideas of the Mikado's empire. It is quite possible, he says, that the Japanese born in Hawaii will no more cherish affection for the native land of their parents, and the patriotic Japanese residents have already begun to view this tendency with serious apprehension.

One of the important features of the Japanese colonies in Hawaii is the maintenance by them of well-appointed schools. As to this we are informed:

At present there are some 6400 Japanese children attending public schools maintained by the Hawaiian authorities. These children, besides attending the American schools, spend two or three hours every day in Japanese schools, where instructions are given in Japanese. There are 102 primary schools and a high school, all established and maintained by the Japanese.

OUR ARCHITECT PRESIDENT

THAT architects should never speak the name of Thomas Jefferson without lifting their hats, is the sentiment expressed by Mr. M. Stapley in the *Architectural Record*, at the close of a striking tribute to the architectural achievements and skill of the third President of the United States. Architecture was Jefferson's hobby and his pride; and in the 25,000 letters written by him between 1770 and 1826 are numberless references to it. That his favorite model for study and imitation was the Roman temple at Nimes, he himself has left on record; also, that he had Palladio's great book. But beyond these facts, where he learned all he knew about architecture remains a matter for speculation. At eighteen he graduated from William and Mary College, proficient in the classics, higher mathematics, and natural sciences; and then he studied law. It must have been about this time that he added Italian, music, and architecture. His first building was his residence, Monticello, begun in 1770, when he was but twenty-six years old, of which Mr. Stapley says:

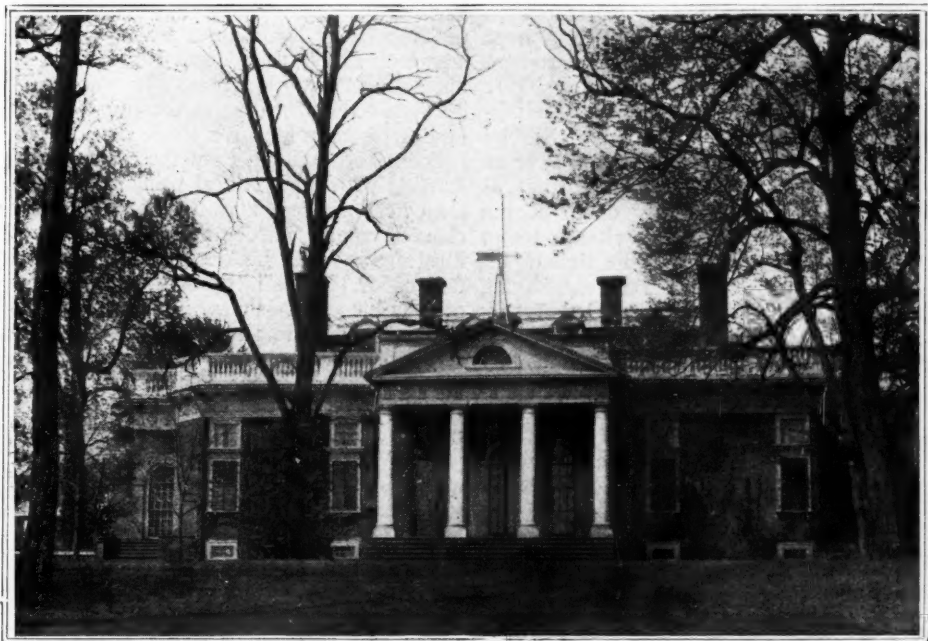
That such bigness of conception and thoroughness of detail could be produced by a young man still in the experimental stage seems incredible to the architect of to-day, who looks back over his

own years of study and training, his early mistakes, his dependence on contractor, engineer, and landscape architect, and wonders how Jefferson not only planned and supervised Monticello, but was personally responsible for such practical phases as heating, ventilation, plumbing and draining. He planned the farm buildings, and the laying out of all the roads and bridle-paths around the place. In addition, he trained all his own workmen, and even made experts of several of his slaves, whom he later set free to earn their living at the trades he taught them.

In 1782 the Marquis de Chastellux visited Jefferson; and he has left the following description of Monticello:

The house, of which Mr. Jefferson was the architect and often the workman, is elegant and in the Italian taste. It consists of one large pavilion, the entrance to which is by two porticoes ornamented by pillars. The ground floor is mainly a large lofty salon. . . . Above this is a library of the same form. Two small wings, with only a ground floor and an attic story, are joined to this pavilion and communicate with the kitchen offices, etc., that form a kind of basement underneath a terrace. . . . Mr. Jefferson is the first American who has consulted the fine arts to know how he should shelter himself from the weather.

Monticello's chief interest for the architect is that it makes a three-story house



MONTICELLO, JEFFERSON'S HOME, NEAR CHARLOTTESVILLE

(Built from the plans, and under the direct supervision, of the owner)

appear like one lofty story, the second-story windows being entirely suppressed on the garden side. Jefferson devised many unique schemes for his own rooms, such as a bedroom extending through two stories, and a semi-octagonal office or study. There were no Negro cabins about the mansion as on other plantations, but under it was "a veritable catacomb-kitchen (with ducts to carry off the odors of cooking), cisterns, bins for fruit, cider, and wood," while the servants had "picturesque quarters seventy-five feet east of the house opening out under a long arcade onto a lower sunny terrace." Altogether the place took seventeen years to build.

But the greatest of Jefferson's architectural undertakings is the University of Virginia. All his drawings, plans, and estimates, which have been preserved, show how carefully he planned every little detail.

Cellars, and foundation walls, windows, doors, roofs, chimneys, floors, partitions, stairs, the very bricks and timber, were all estimated with professional precision. . . . He sadly complained to Madison that there was not a builder in all Virginia who was capable of drawing the orders. . . . As over forty years before at Monticello, he personally trained his brickmakers, masons, carpenters, and even designed their tools, and taught them the novel way of covering a roof with tin.

Architects generally do not appreciate the thoroughness of Jefferson's work. Some of them only notice his peculiarities of construction, even going so far as to attribute at least one of them to forgetfulness on the part of the sage of Monticello. But, as Mr. Stapley remarks, if these devices of Jefferson's were less ingenious than they really are, it is, after all, somewhat paltry to bask in the warmth and remember only the spots on the sun.

DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS, THE NOVELIST

"THERE are, unfortunately, few in this country to-day who are even trying to do the sort of work that he [Mr. Phillips] is doing. And the fact that he does it with apparent ease, and has reached the point where he is doing it with triumphant strength, promises well for the future. Let us hope that 'The Husband's Story' is the harbinger of a long series of volumes equally sincere and vital and technically equally admirable." These words, from an article by Mr. Calvin Winter in the *Bookman*, have an especially pathetic interest, appearing, as they do, after the untimely death at the hands of an assassin of the writer to whom they refer. Mr. Phillips at the time of his decease was in his forty-fourth year, having been born, at Madison, Ind., October 31, 1867. He had been writing since 1887, but it was not till 1901 that he produced his first novel, "The Great God, Success."

In the article under notice Mr. Winter frankly recognizes, in the first place, that Mr. Phillips "is a rather important factor in the development of American fiction at the present day." Among the half-dozen contemporary novelists who devoted themselves to studying and depicting the big ethical and social problems of their own country, "none was more in earnest than Mr. Phillips, none striving more patiently to do the thing in the best, most forceful, most craftsmanlike manner." At the same time, it is to be noted that the author developed his tech-

nique rather slowly, so that of all his novels there are only just a few that are "of a quality which no serious student of present-day fiction can afford to neglect." Propounding the question, "Why is it that so many of Mr. Phillips' books contain more of promise than of fulfilment?" Mr. Winter thinks that the answer is simply this: "that Mr. Phillips in his methods of work reverses the usual process followed by writers of the epic type by finding his germ idea in a single character or incident and building from these, instead of starting with some ethical principle or psychological problem and then searching for characters and incidents that would best illustrate it." In his critic's view, the real fault of Mr. Phillips' method, the real weakness of even his best achievements, is that "he is not merely the clear-eyed and impartial observer of life: he is always a partisan and a reformer. He is so keenly interested in the problems that he is setting forth that he cannot keep himself and his ideas out of them."

Mr. Winter analyzes a number of the late author's works, some of his criticisms of which may be epitomized as follows:

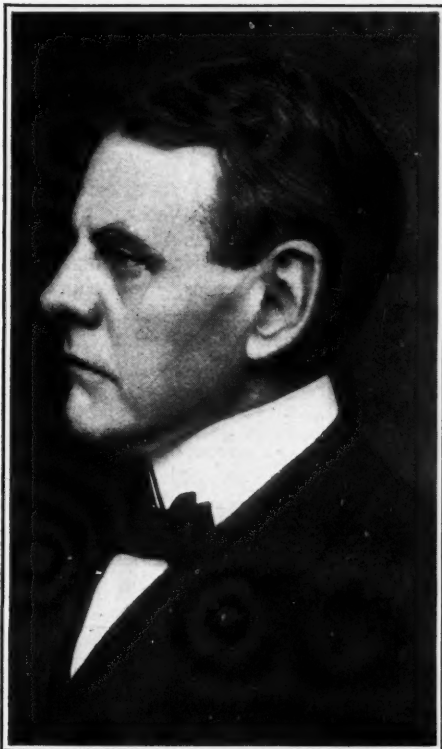
"The Second Generation" may be recommended to a reader approaching Mr. Phillips for the first time, because it admirably illustrates his strongest qualities, his ability to give you the sense of life and motion and the clash of many interests. . . . "Old Wives for New" is unquestionably one of Mr. Phillips' important books; and there is probably no other American novel that gives us with such direct and unflinching

clairvoyance the sordid, repellent, intimate little details of a mistaken marriage that slowly but surely culminate in a sort of physical nausea and an inevitable separation. . . . "The Fashionable Adventures of Joshua Craig" is a piece of cheap caricature, and shows that even yet the author is weak in the power of self-criticism. . . . "White Magic" is simply an innocuous little love story told with rather more explosive violence than the theme warrants. . . . "The Hungry Heart" and "The Husband's Story" are the two books that exhibit the author's ripest powers. As a piece of careful construction, the former volume deserves high praise. We get within a little world of four people a sense of universality of theme and interest, an impression of learning not the secrets of a few isolated lives, but of much that is big and vital about man and woman. The latter book is the type that we have long had a right to expect from Mr. Phillips. It is a study of a marriage that failed. The reason that it is a better and a bigger book than any of his others is not because of his theme, but because of his workmanship. It shows, between the lines, that while the husband throws all the blame upon his wife, the fault is as largely his as it is hers. To have conceived the story was something in itself to be proud of, but to have conceived of telling it through the husband's lips was a stroke of genius.

Summarizing his own views, Mr. Winter, the author of the article, says:

Mr. Phillips is a writer with many qualities and some defects—like all men who have it in them to do big things. But it would be easy to forgive more serious faults than his in any one possessing his breadth and depth of interest in the serious problems of life and his outspoken fearlessness in handling them. There are, unfortunately, few in this country to-day who are even trying to do the sort of work that he is doing. And the fact that he does it with apparent ease, and has reached the point where he is doing it with triumphant strength, promises well for the future.

Sincere will be the regret throughout the large circle of the late author's readers that



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THE LATE DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS

the hope, expressed by his critic, that "The Husband's Story" may be "but the first of a long series of equal strength and big-ness," can never be realized.

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS

A SLENDER talent, but a very refined and individual one,—observes the literary critic of the *New York Times*,—went out of American letters with the death (on January 28) of Mrs. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward. Continuing, this critic says:

Sensitive, idealistic, intense, her work was so markedly the out-speaking of her character that one who had never seen her could have formed from it a fairly distinct and accurate conception of her personality. It was inevitable that her appeal, save for two or three of her books, should be to a rather limited audience, but it was an audience that loved her much and upon which she left a deep impress. Her early work was perhaps her best, or, at least, it found the readiest and largest body of admirers. "Gates Ajar," published when she was but twenty-four

years old (in 1868), went through twenty editions in its first twelve-month, enjoyed a steady sale for twenty years or more, and was translated into several European languages. Its remarkable popularity was due to the fact that it answered a need of the time, that it appeared at the opportune moment, when the modern demand for more humanity in religion, for something that would touch more nearly the ordinary human understanding and human feeling, was beginning to make itself felt. And for that reason it fed and satisfied thousands upon thousands of hungry souls. But whether her theme was of this world or the next, Mrs. Ward had always the uplifted vision and an unflinching sense of the sacredness of the soul's ideal. She was fond of embodying this loyalty to an ideal in her heroines and of leading them, in devotion to it, over stony paths of renunciation. Her novels and stories, except those that deal with the future life, have always had their warmest admirers among young women of educa-

tion and refinement, and two generations of these have eagerly read "The Story of Avis," "Doctor Zay," "Friends," and some of her later books.

Commenting on the fact that Mrs. Ward began to write for the press at the age of thirteen and that she was scarcely twenty-five when "The Gates Ajar" made her famous, the *Independent* says editorially: "There is no parallel that occurs to us to her early maturity." Furthermore, the writer of the editorial believes, "for pure ability as well as for literary power, she stood, notwithstanding her lifelong invalidism, at the head of our women writers." He concludes:

It is more than a literary fellowship, it is a personal affection which a multitude of our readers have had for Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, because of the fellowship of heart which they have for one whose writings have turned their thoughts outward and upward.

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps was in her sixty-seventh year when she died. It will be well to recall at this time the main facts of her life.

She was born in 1844 in Boston, the daughter of the Rev. Austin Phelps, who later became professor at the Andover Theological Seminary; her mother was the oldest daughter of Moses Stuart, also of Andover. At the age of thirteen Elizabeth Phelps began to write for the *Youth's Companion*, and before she was twenty had published in *Harper's Magazine*. Her first important work was "The Gates Ajar," a spiritual romance prompted by the loss of a brother in the Civil War. Her other works include: "The Gypsy Series" (4 vols.), "Men, Women and Ghosts," "The Trotty Book," "Hedged In," "The Silent Partner," "What to Wear," "Trotty's Wedding-Tour and Story Book," "Poetic Studies," "The Story of Avis," "Sealed Orders," "Friends," "Doctor Zay," "Beyond the Gates," "Songs of the Silent World," "Old Maids, and Burglars in Paradise," "The Madonna of the Tubs," "The Gates Between," "Jack the Fisherman," "The Struggle for Immortality," "A Lost Hero" (with her husband), "Come Forth" (with same), "The Master of the Magicians" (with same), "Fourteen to One," "Donald Marcy," "A Singular Life," "The Supply at St. Agatha's," "Chapters from a Life," "The Story of Jesus Christ," "Within the Gates," "Successors to Mary the First," "Avery," "Trixy," "The Man in the Case," "Walled In," "Though Life Us Do Part," "Jonathan and David," and "The Oath of Allegiance."



MRS. ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS WARD

(Mrs. Ward, who died on January 28, in her sixty-seventh year, was the author of many stories)



Photograph by Schwemberger

THE CORN DANCE—ACOMA'S GREAT ANNUAL EVENT

ACOMA—OUR OLDEST INHABITED SETTLEMENT

ABOUT seventy miles west of Albuquerque in New Mexico, and about eighteen miles southwest of Laguna on the Santa Fé Railroad, the traveler, on rounding a point of rocks in the trail from the latter town, suddenly finds himself in view of an oblong sandstone rock rising 400 feet or higher above the plain, to which his driver points excitedly, exclaiming "Mesa Encantada!" (the Enchanted Mesa). Here in the remote past was the home of the Acomas, "the people of the White Rock." Three miles away to the west, on another oblong rocky pedestal 400 feet high, is built Acoma, an Indian pueblo which has the unassailable distinction of being the oldest continuously occupied settlement in the United States. Known as Acus, Acuco, and Coco, and first mentioned by Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539, it was captured by Coronado's expedition in 1540; in 1583 it received a visit from Espejo, who gave it its present name; and here in 1598 Juan de Zaldivar with fifteen of his party was murdered by the natives, on whom in the following month Vicente, Juan's brother, took a terrible revenge, killing half the entire population of 3000, and burning a large part of the pueblo. To-day about 600 Indians occupy the mesa, which is only

accessible by three circuitous trails ending in narrow ledges of rock along the cliffs, in which are steps of stone cut ages ago. Over these trails, on the backs of the ancestors of these people, had to be brought every bit of material for the construction of the dwellings and the church, besides all the necessities of life. An interesting account by Mr. Edgar K. Miller of his visit to this unique place appears in the *Red Man*. We read:

The village proper consists of three parallel rows of adobe houses, three-story, terraced in form, and about forty feet high; nearly a hundred in all. In these dwellings lives a population of about 600 people. Entrance to the houses is made by ladders, over the roof, passing through passageways to the lower floor, or into the second terrace by doors, or up to the third terrace again by ladders. . . . I was informed that the senior members of the family live in the first story, the daughter first married gets the second terrace, and the second the third terrace. All other members have to seek quarters elsewhere, or live with the old people.

Near the edge of the mesa on the east stands the ancient adobe cathedral, built about 1600, under the floor of which, until recent years, the tribe buried its dead. Each of the two towers contains a large Spanish bell, retained in place by buckskin thongs.



A STREET OF ACOMA, THE CLIFF-BUILT CITY, OUR
OLDEST INHABITED SETTLEMENT

The tribal ceremonies, religious dances, fiestas, etc., are held in the plaza, into which the two long streets of rock open. The principal dance and ceremony are held annually in September, being preceded by services in the church. After the services the sacred saint, a wooden image, is carried in parade to the dancing-ground, where it is kept under guard by two Indians with loaded rifles till

sundown. Two sets of dancers, male and female, dance alternately all day, thanking the Good Being for past prosperity and praying for bounteous crops and plenty of rain in the coming year. One of the events of the day is a ten-mile run between two factions of the tribe.

The men, more or less, dress in half-white, half-Indian style, and are engaged in herding cattle, horses, and sheep, which are owned by the whole tribe. Their lands, granted by Spain and confirmed by the United States, cover 95,792 acres. The women, who retain the pueblo shawl, dress, and buckskin leggings, spend most of their time in carrying water from the plain below, in converting corn into meal, and in making the celebrated Acoma pottery which is the best in the Southwest. Sheep manure is used for firing. Much of their subsistence comes from the sale of this pottery.

Mr. Miller entered many of the dwellings, which he found "comfortable, neat, and surprisingly clean and free from dirt." One of the homes had "a brass bed and an inviting-looking rocking-chair; several homes contained sewing-machines; but most of them had few articles of furniture."

A PRODUCT OF THE MERIT SYSTEM AT WASHINGTON

ALL right-thinking Americans must be gratified with the success of the campaign of the United States Department of Justice against bank wreckers, bucket-shops, and fraudulent stock-selling concerns, nearly one hundred of these malefactors being at the present time on the dockets for trial. It will, we think, be interesting to many readers of the REVIEW to know that this satisfactory result is due in no small degree to "the genius and industry of a young man who is hardly known outside Washington, except to the forces of evil which he has attacked and which, by offers of bribes, threats of personal violence, and the use of great political influence, have done their utmost to eliminate him from the Government service." The young man referred to is Mr. Wrisley Brown, who forms the subject of a sketch by Mr. Russell Hastings Millward in *Moody's*, and who is thus characterized by that writer:

Wrisley Brown, Special Assistant to the Attorney-General, who has the active charge of these bank prosecutions, is popularly known as one of the

"live wires" of the Taft Administration. He has not yet reached the age of twenty-eight; but prominent officials who have come in contact with him and his work state that he possesses a brilliant mind and legal attainments far beyond his years. Many convicted bank wreckers, surprised at the youthful appearance of the prosecutor who has been pitted against them, bear testimony to the fact that he is well armored with honesty, fearlessness and efficient qualifications for the duties of an exacting office.

This young legal giant comes of New England stock; but he has lived in the West long enough to absorb the virile spirit of the plains. He was trained for a career in the army, but later decided to study law. His early education was received in the public schools and the Columbian [now George Washington] University, after which he graduated at the head of a large class at the National University Law School, winning almost all the honors and prizes offered for excellence in scholarship.

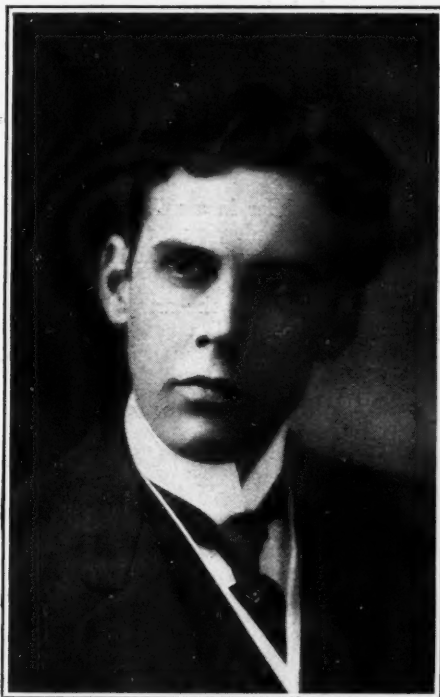
Mr. Brown entered the classified Civil Service from the State of Maine in 1904, after competitive examination; and he is strictly a product of the merit system. Beginning at the foot of the Treasury ladder, his promotion was rapid, and in a few years he had become law clerk to the Comptroller of the Treasury. At the beginning of the present

administration he was promoted and transferred to the Department of Justice, mainly as the result of certain striking opinions he had written. The Attorney-General has also designated him consulting attorney of the Bureau of Investigation, known as "The New Secret Service."

Of the personal make-up of the subject of his article Mr. Millward writes:

Wrisley Brown has a most charming personality. His quiet, courteous manner little suggests the unusual aggressiveness which has marked his career, but he has the unmistakable air of earnestness which denotes the man of purpose. Extensive travel and research have developed in him the judgment of a man of long experience and ripe maturity. An indefatigable worker and a constant student of men and events, he gets results by carefully planned action without that spectacular or dramatic display which has characterized the methods of many of our famous prosecutors. He has made no attempt to cultivate the graces of the orator, but is a forceful speaker and a dangerous opponent when called into action.

Mr. Brown's record is, for a man of his youth, an extraordinary one, and his star is still in the ascendant. He is serving a great Attorney-General; and his biographer predicts that, if he reaches the growth foreshadowed by his early career, he will undoubtedly become a power to be seriously reckoned with in the future conduct of our national affairs.



Photograph by Cinedunst, Washington

MR. WRISLEY BROWN

(Special assistant to the Attorney-General, in charge of bank prosecutions)

SUFFERINGS OF THE RUSSIAN JEWS

AT such conferences as the recent biennial council of the Union of Hebrew Congregations in New York; frequent allusions are made to "the barbaric persecutions in Russia" which every year force the emigration of thousands of the Jewish subjects of the Czar. The precise nature of these persecutions and their ultimate object are discussed in the *Outlook* by Mr. Herman Rosenthal, by birth a Russian, but many years a citizen of the United States, the head of the Slavonic Department of the New York Public Library and the founder of the first agricultural colonies of Russian Jews in America.

Behind the veil of autocracy, Mr. Rosenthal tells us, "the atrocities of the Romanov dynasty have finally culminated in a tendency toward the complete extinction of the Jewish race in Russia." In three decades one and a half million Jews have been forced to leave the empire, while thousands have been killed and many more thousands maimed and plundered in a series of "po-

groms" or anti-Jewish riots, "outbreaks stimulated and countenanced by subtle governmental policy." Besides being the victim of organized violence and robbery, the Jew is hampered in his struggle for existence by numberless restrictions and special laws with their conflicting "interpretations." Ninety-five per cent. of Russia's five million Jews are herded, by rigorous statutes, into the cities of the so-called Pale of Jewish Settlement, thus being confined to an area equivalent to one two-thousandth part of the empire. They may not buy, lease or manage real estate outside of these cities, and so cannot become farmers. Jews are practically excluded from the judiciary, from professorships and other educational positions, from government service, from the navy and the gendarmerie:

Jews may serve in the army—in fact, they furnish from 30 to 40 per cent. more soldiers than their proper allotment—but no Jew may become an officer. The Jew may die for "Holy Russia,"

but he need look for no reward. Sixty thousand Jews served in the war with Japan. A ukase of 1904 promised a general right of residence within and without the Pale to all of these who should be found to have served worthily. But the Russian Government is bound by no promises. This privilege was denied even the Jewish volunteers who endured privations and sustained wounds in the defense of Port Arthur.

No Jewish soldier in a military orchestra may become a leader, and the number of Jews in any military orchestra is limited to one-third. Similarly, Jewish physicians are almost excluded from the army by a regulation limiting their number to 5 per cent. of the total:

However, at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian military administration tore away without any regard hundreds of Jewish physicians from their civil professions and drove them to the most dangerous points of the theater of war, dismissing them immediately after the conclusion of peace.

On the other hand, while the census of 1897 proves that the Jews bear the heaviest burden of military service, the administration always manages to ascribe a deficit to them.

There is a regulation of 1886, applicable to Jews only, establishing "family responsibility" for recruits. The effect of this provision is that should any Jew whose name has been drawn as a recruit fail to report for service at the proper time, even though he may delay but a few hours, his relatives must pay a fine of 300 rubles. It makes no difference if the name of the "recruit" is that of one who emigrated years ago, or died, even in infancy; no matter what proofs may be offered, the penalty still remains.

While taxed, and heavily taxed, the Jew is not accorded "the ordinary rights of citizenship." Moreover, the innumerable special enactments concerning Jews furnish the minor officials to whom the interpretation of these restrictive laws is largely delegated, rich opportunities for graft and blackmail which they by no means neglect:

According to a calculation of Prince Urussov in his "Memoirs of a Russian Governor," the "extra

income" of the police in his government of Bessarabia alone amounted to over a million rubles annually. Most of this sum was exacted from Jews. On the basis of this statement it may be estimated that the Jews in the whole country pay annually for protection to the police officials amounts of from twenty to twenty-five million rubles. The Russian bureaucracy will certainly oppose with all its might the emancipation of the Jews, since with the repeal of exceptional laws all the special income of the police would be abolished.

Even education is denied a large proportion of the Jewish youth, who are excluded from schools and universities by laws which severely limit the percentage of Jewish students.

However, "the greatest affliction of the Russian Jews, and the cause of the recent exhibitions of governmental violence against these unfortunate people, is the limitation of the right of residence." In addition to the millions herded in the Pale,

scattered throughout the rest of the empire are about a quarter of a million Jews, some of whom have retained old rights of residence in their localities, others belonging to certain privileged classes to whom the right of general residence is accorded by law. But the whole policy of the Russian Government is to withdraw all rights of external residence, and to pack the Jews closer and closer in the great cities of the Pale.



MR. HERMAN ROSENTHAL

(A leading authority on Russia's persecutions of the Jews)

The coveted general right of residence in any part of the Empire is accorded, by law, to Jewish veterans, merchants of the first guild, members of certain professions, and artisans pursuing their calling. But this right is withdrawn, especially from the poor and comparatively defenseless artisans, on many pretexts, and the victims are relentlessly forced back into the Pale. In recent years many privileged Jews lost their residential rights through misplaced trust in a government promise that was subsequently withdrawn. Then followed the persecutions of 1910 with all their severities. Mr. Rosen-

thal instances the expulsion of 1200 Jewish heads of households with their families from Kiev and its suburbs, and brutal raids followed by expulsions of both privileged and non-privileged Jews from other localities:

Among those listed by the police for expulsion from Tula were four women of from sixty to eighty years who had long lived there. To evade expulsion they contracted fictitious marriages with old soldiers of Nicholas I, and thus secured immunity. In Tashkent forty families were

ordered out, with but three days' grace. In the middle of winter, with the thermometer far below zero, dozens of Jews were driven from Irkutsk, among them children, and men seventy years old. In Vladivostok the Governor directed that every expulsion from the capital should be communicated to the other cities of the province, so that the expelled might find no refuge. In Smolensk, in the winter of 1910, twenty-one dentists were first expelled. A goodly number of artisans followed, the order for their expulsion stating that "their applications for the right of residence have not been looked into, and until this has been done they must leave the city."

WHY THE CANAL SHOULD BE FORTIFIED

AN argument for the fortification of the Panama Canal appears in the *Forum* from the pen of Mr. Harry Albert Austin, who since 1903 has been connected with the army in a civil capacity. Mr. Austin presents the arguments on both sides of the controversy, dividing his subject into two phases: the first involving the question of our legal and moral right; the second, the question of policy. Beginning with the treaty of 1846 between this country and New Granada, he reviews the several treaties that have been made with reference to the Canal, of which the only ones now in force are the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1902 and the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty (between the United States and the Republic of Panama) made subsequently to the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. Just what our position is with regard to these two treaties is thus set forth by Mr. Austin:

This treaty [of 1902] is similar to the first Hay-Pauncefote treaty [1900] except that it is silent in regard to the right of the United States to fortify the Canal. The fact that this prohibition was stipulated in the first draft and omitted in the final ratified treaty has a significant bearing on the question of our right to fortify the Canal. As far as Great Britain is concerned, under the terms of the treaty it is not conceivable that that nation could offer any objections to our erecting fortifications if we saw fit to do so, except under the neutrality clause. . . . No mention is made in the final draft of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as to vessels of Great Britain traversing the Canal, in case of war between the contracting parties, being exempt from blockade, detention or capture by the United States. . . . The United States is the sole guarantor of the neutrality of the Canal.

As regards the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty, the only provision of moment is the one stipulating that the United States shall have the right to establish fortifications, should the employment of armed forces for the safety or protection of the Canal become necessary. Mr. Bunau-Varilla himself now claims that

under this clause the United States cannot establish permanent fortifications on the Canal in times of peace.

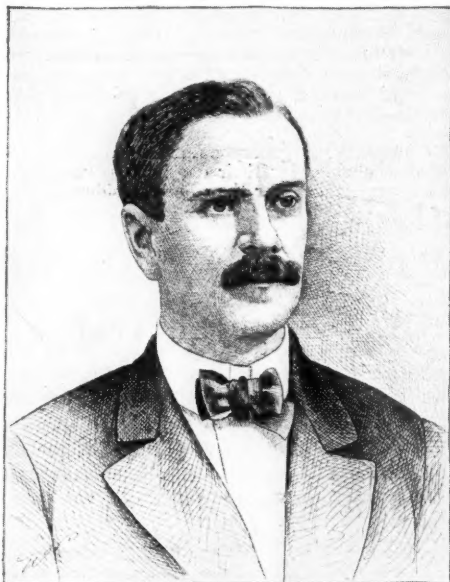
Mr. Austin's conclusions, drawn from the arguments in favor of and against fortifying the Canal are in substance as follows:

The guarantee of neutrality carries with it, by inference if not by letter, the right to adopt such measures as may be necessary to insure that guarantee being fulfilled. In only two ways can this object be attained: by permanent fortifications or by the presence of the navy in waters contiguous to both ends of the Canal. To compel the navy to defend the Canal would be to deprive it of its principal function of acting on the offensive. With possession of the Canal during hostilities assured to us, our battle fleet would be available, within a short time, for service in either ocean. Should a sudden war occur, and the Canal fall into the hands of an enemy, we should be at a very great disadvantage if we, in order to concentrate our battle fleet and transports, were required to sail around the Horn instead of passing through the Isthmus.

Another important fact is often overlooked: in case the Canal were blockaded at one exit, our battle fleet must be able, in passing through the waterway, to debouch in battle formation; and this could not be done except under the protection of the land armament. Without land fortifications it would be possible for an enemy's fleet to approach so near the mouth of the Canal as to be able to crush our fleet in detail as it emerged.

The one unanswerable argument in favor of fortification is, that if the waterway is fortified, even though we may not be able to use it ourselves, it is an assured fact that no enemy can use it against us, and the same thing cannot be said of it if we fail to erect adequate fortifications at its entrances. As to the cost of these defenses, it is estimated that those recommended by the Panama Canal Board would involve an outlay of \$12,000,000—little more than the cost of a single *Dreadnought*, and a small sum compared with the value at stake as represented by the initial cost of the construction of the Canal.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN PORTO RICO



HON. EDWIN G. DEXTER
(Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico)

Kindergarten.....	230	Rural.....	71,630
Graded.....	39,907	High.....	970
Night.....	8,624	Special.....	92

The rural schools, by far the most numerous, are, we are told, "doing work worthy of the greatest praise," while the graded schools, maintained in each of the 66 towns and cities of the island, "compare favorably in all respects with the better systems of schools in the United States." Night schools are held in 158 buildings, and are attended mainly by adults. First-class high schools are maintained at San Juan, Ponce, and Mayaguez, each having a four-year course and sending its graduates to the University of Porto Rico. Instruction in agriculture is given by the University and by the department of education; extended courses being offered by the former, and work of an elementary nature being conducted by the latter in six supervisory districts.

Gardens are maintained in connection with the work, and in some instances the sale of the products has placed quite a fund at the disposal of the teacher for the purchase of fertilizer, implements, etc. Sugar-cane, pineapples, citrus fruits, tobacco, and vegetables are the common products.

THE American of to-day may well regard it as his proudest boast, in respect of our colonial possessions, that "education follows the flag." A most gratifying account of educational progress in Porto Rico is contributed to the *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union by the Hon. Edwin G. Dexter, Commissioner of Education in that island, who in his opening paragraph makes this remarkable statement:

Were you to visit the island of Porto Rico and traverse any considerable portion of its more than 1,000 kilometers of macadamized roads, next to the beauty of the scenery and the boundless fertility of the soil you would be impressed with the number and perfection of its public-school buildings. They seem to be everywhere; some large and imposing, containing more than 20 rooms and costing many thousands of dollars; others, the simplest of structures—thatch-roofed and primitive in every detail, but each glorified in the purpose to which it is devoted. The island contains nearly 1,000 of these temples of learning, great and small, and to them during the past school year more than 120,000 children turned for instruction. That means that, of the entire population of Porto Rico, 1 in every 9 went to school, a larger proportion than for any other people of the Western hemisphere, save those of the United States and Canada.

For the year 1909-10 the actual number of pupils enrolled in the public schools was 121,453; and their distribution was as follows:

The salaries of the teachers are considerably higher than the average salary of teachers in the United States. In the graded schools three classes of teachers give instruction: teachers of English, English graded teachers, and Spanish graded teachers. The first named are all Americans; the second class are Porto Ricans. The graded schools are practically on an English basis, instruction in 90 per cent. of them being given in English.

Educational organization is influencing the lives and customs of the people in many ways. Within the past two years 233 public-school libraries have been established. In many cases these are simply strong boxes—actually condemned army kits—each containing 50 to 100 books, in circulation among the rural schools. The Commissioner appeals for more books, especially those printed in Spanish. Another important educational movement is the establishment of playgrounds. Three years ago there was but one on the island; to-day there are 45 with an equipment representing more than \$20,000. These playgrounds, used by thousands upon thousands of the youth of both sexes, are, in the opinion of the Commissioner, developing a sturdiness of physique hitherto unknown to children in the tropics.

The public-school system of the island culminates in the University of Porto Rico, of which, although the institution is not directly under the department of education, the Commissioner is ex officio president and chancellor. The University owns about 200 acres of land, of which 100 are at Rio Piedras, seven miles from San Juan. Here nine buildings are occupied by the Colleges of Liberal Arts

and Agriculture and by the normal department. The remaining 100 acres are at Mayaguez. No buildings have as yet been erected on this property. About 300 students are enrolled in the normal department, among them several from North and South America; and the institution bids fair to become a veritable pan-American university.

FOREST FIRES IN NORTH AMERICA — A GERMAN VIEW

THE enormous conflagrations that are of frequent occurrence in the United States, and our colossal annual fire-losses, have always been a matter of wonder to Europeans, and it is not remarkable therefore that the unusually great devastations of the past year have called forth considerable comment in the European press. In a recent number of *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift* the subject of forest fires in North America is discussed by Professor Deckert of Frankfort, a distinguished forester, who has traveled all over this continent, and is acquainted by per-

sonal experience with the conditions of which he speaks. His views on the subject, from the standpoint of one trained in forestry as it is practiced in Germany, will be of special interest to Americans at the present time of wrestling with the problems of conservation. Surprising as it may appear, Professor Deckert does not take altogether the customary view of the annual loss being almost entirely chargeable to our natural carelessness and wastefulness of superabundant riches, but candidly states his conviction that both the extent of the forests and climatic conditions



PUTTING OUT THE FOREST FIRES OF LAST SUMMER IN WASHINGTON STATE

render it quite impossible to protect our forests as they are protected in Germany and middle Europe generally.

Dr. Deckert proceeds to enumerate the principal causes of fire and their elimination. First of all comes the accidental spread of camp-fires. These fires are absolutely necessary, and cannot be prevented, and on the other hand to find a spot in a forest absolutely safe for them is simply an impossibility. The author adds that he himself on one occasion narrowly escaped responsibility for the spreading of a camp-fire which would have destroyed an extensive forest area in Arizona. In this case great care had been taken in advance; but the opposite is apparently the rule.

Next in importance come the intentional fires for clearing or burning brush or rubbish. These also may be classed as necessary, especially in Oregon or Washington, where the litter is so great that it is impossible to dispose of it without the use of fire and dynamite. It is also common in the Southeast, on the Atlantic Coast, for the planters to burn over the ground to get new areas for cotton or grain plantations.

A former common cause of fires was the intentional fire set by Indians and white hunters merely to scare up game and without regard to damage to the forest. But, says the author, there is a good prospect that the days of this sort of vandalism are numbered.

Malicious incendiarism has proved a difficult matter to handle, as incendiaries can easily make their escape in our great distances before the fire is discovered, but fortunately the number of such fires in this country has never been great.

Finally, lightning is a cause which must be reckoned with, especially in the West, where it is a frequent cause of fires, since the storms there yield hardly any rain. Because of the rain which falls, lightning is a negligible factor in the East and in Europe. It has been determined that in the San Francisco Mountains of Arizona about 60 per cent. of all fires are caused by lightning.

As to fire prevention and checking, it is pointed out that the areas to be watched and patrolled are simply enormous, and that wide stretches are unprovided with roads and trails and practically inaccessible. This makes fire-fighting very difficult. Moreover, on account of the rugged nature of the country effective fire-lanes cannot always be maintained.

Professor Deckert considers the climate a principal factor in the situation. Our cli-

mate is not only much drier than the European, but in the West the drought is long-continuing, and even in the East the annual rainfall is unevenly distributed, so as to give long periods of drought. Such droughts render forests very inflammable, and cause the unpreventable fire loss to multiply in importance. But hardly any one, says the author, would advocate restriction of the forest service because of natural difficulties. Rather after this latest disaster will measures be taken in the future to double or treble the number of rangers in the dangerous districts and in dry seasons. In Germany double precautions are taken in dry years, but the maximum of possible precaution in America is demanded every year. Once a fire gets well started in a dry year, its extinguishment by artificial means is to be considered hopeless.

The character of the timber has also great influence on the spread of fires. The conifers on account of their pitch-content are much more inflammable when dry than other trees, but on the other hand some species, like the yellow pine, offer a great resistance to fire, and when in a pure stand frequently escape being killed. For this reason in arid States such as Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico, where the yellow pine prevails, destruction by fire is seldom so complete as in less arid States like Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Oregon, where the stands are usually mixed.

In the East it is much easier to maintain an effective fire-guard than in the West, not only because of the greater natural moisture, but because of the natural fire-lanes provided by rivers, lakes, and marshes and the more numerous roads, trails and railways; but even in the pine woods of Maine and the Middle West there is great danger, as the forest floor is still drier in the late summer than in Europe.

In the great turpentine woods which cover the coast-plain from New Jersey to Texas, the large pitch-content of the trees is offset by broad stretches of marsh-land along the streams.

In the southern Appalachians, where hardwoods predominate, fires are frequent, yet on account of the greenness of the fuel they seldom do much damage, and are principally brush fires. In the northern Appalachians, on the other hand, where conifers predominate, fires are of a more devastating character.

The conditions in the Canadian West are the same as in the neighboring portions of the United States, the fires during the past year having reached the same degree of destructiveness, and for like reasons.

SUBMARINE CABLES AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

SUBMARINE cables, so essential a factor in the commercial activities of a nation in times of peace, become of paramount importance in times of war. An anonymous article on this topic in the *Revue de Paris*, which bears internal evidence of having been written by some one well posted in his subject, tends to show that there is not complete unanimity among the powers concerning the neutrality of telegraph lines. According to the convention of 1875, agreed to at St. Petersburg, and which is the code of the Universal Telegraph Union, "every power has the right to suspend international telegraph service for a specified time, if it deem necessary, either generally or on certain lines and for certain kind of messages, on condition that it notifies the fact immediately to each of the other contracting powers." The St. Petersburg convention applied to land lines only. The question of neutralizing submarine cables in time of war was agitated by France thirty years ago. According to the *Revue* writer:

In order to regulate questions of international law relative to submarine cables, France in 1882 arranged a conference. Twenty-six countries were represented; but the results were unimportant. The convention of 1884 applied only to times of peace. As regards times of war, it contented itself with declaring (Article 15): "It is understood that the stipulations of the convention impose no restraint on the liberty of action of belligerents."

At this conference the French delegates essayed to secure complete neutrality for submarine cables, which, says the article under notice, was in accord with the view expressed by President Buchanan in the first telegram, transmitted in 1858, from the New World to the Old. But the English delegates would not so much as admit that the question was open to discussion. And, deeming Article 15 insufficiently explicit, they adopted the following memorandum with reference thereto: "Her Majesty's Government interprets Article 15 in the sense that in time of war a belligerent signatory to this convention shall be free to act with regard to submarine cables as if this convention did not exist." From 1871, however, England had regarded submarine cables as contraband of war. She would make war on cables; and, according to their technical reviews, the Germans and Italians are similarly actuated. As regards France herself, the *Revue* writer states that at the time of the discussion relative to the Brest-Dakar line, a high authority averred

that from the military point of view cables had not the importance usually ascribed to them, inasmuch as "on the announcement of a declaration of war, whether by France or by a foreign nation, all the cables would be cut."

To cut a cable, however, is by no means easy. It is necessary to search for it at some distance from the shore and at great depths; for near the land the cable is furnished with a strong casing which makes it very heavy and capable of resisting enormous traction. Besides, were the cable damaged near the shore, the position of the rupture would be quickly detected, and the repairs could be made with very little delay. To lift a cable at sea for the purpose of cutting it presents the same difficulties that are encountered in destroying or repairing one. Proper equipment and a trained personnel are necessary; and war-vessels are ill adapted to the work, which calls for the employment of regular cable-ships. Here, it appears from the article under notice, England has a distinct advantage over the other powers. Owning, as she does, at least three-fourths of all the cable-ships, she is, also, better informed as to the positions of the various cables, and could therefore more easily than any other power cut the lines of an enemy. And as regards herself, in order to isolate England from the world, it would only be necessary to cut the forty cables that originate on her coasts. In almost every respect England would seem to lead the world in cable enterprise. Thus of the 2053 cables in operation, 1651 belong to states, and 402 to private companies. Of the latter companies, twenty-two are English, and their lines aggregate 155,000 miles, or about 65 per cent. of the total. (There are five American or Anglo-American companies, with cables aggregating 56,000 miles.) It is apparent that these represent a powerful aid to the national defense. The *Revue* has this recognition of the perspicacity of France's neighbor across the Channel:

Not only has England from the first had faith in the financial results of submarine telegraphy, but it has realized what a marvelous means of world domination a well-conceived network of cables would be. The foresight of her government has seconded the energy of her business men, and has thus created innumerable English telegraphic posts, which are centers of commercial influence in times of peace and invaluable for the transmission of orders in times of war. At the War Office a special bureau is devoted to cable matters. It watches the normal operations of the various com-

panies, and studies the strategic interest attaching to new developments. No cable is laid without its sanction; and thus it can modify projects for lines in the interest of the Empire. Moreover, the English lines touching foreign countries have English bureaus, and England can therefore secure the earliest information not only concerning her own affairs, but also regarding matters

which the other powers would wish to reserve to themselves.

Truly has it been said that in the struggle for the supremacy of the sea the possession of submarine cables is as important as that of coaling-stations.

HAS OUR ENGINEERS' NAVY MADE GOOD?

IN Cleveland's first administration, during the secretaryship of William C. Whitney, the new United States navy was begun by the purchase abroad of the plans of one battleship and three cruisers. Till then, all cruising ships had had sail power only; and our navy had been operated so long under an old system that neither architects nor engineers were conversant with modern construction for high-speed ships. Since Whitney's time the transformation has been rapid; ship after ship has been replaced; and the navy has regained the effectiveness it had at the close of the Civil War, the recovery, however, being under totally different conditions. The change from the old types to the new having been entirely one of engineering, a complete reorganization of the personnel to fit the modern requirements has been necessitated. The education and training of men for service afloat have had to be modified. Early in 1899, what is known as the Personnel bill was passed by Congress. This bill, writes Prof. Ira N. Hollis, in the *Engineering Magazine*,

had many good features, the principal ones being an amalgamation of the line and engineer corps into one corps, the establishment of a grade of warrant machinists, and the correction of inequalities as to pay. . . . The measure was framed in reality for two reasons: one was to cause every line officer to pass through an engineering apprenticeship; and the other was to break up the eternal fight between the line and staff. This fight had reappeared in every session of Congress from the close of the Civil War.

The line in swallowing up the engineer corps brought itself into correspondence with modern conditions by converting itself into a larger engineer corps. In taking the engineer corps into the line, the navy reserved all the older officers who had been chief engineers, exclusively for engineering duties, and they have served to train the young line officers to succeed them. The younger members of the engineer corps were taken bodily into the line in every sense of the word.

The Naval Academy quickly changed its course to suit the new requirements for officers; and became an engineering school of the highest class; the training of enlisted

men was altered to meet the new demands; and by the Personnel bill, the promotion of good practical mechanics from the ranks to a grade of warrant machinist was made possible. In exceptional cases, warrant officers may obtain by examination and record the same commissions as those held by graduates of the Naval Academy. Thus to-day any fireman finds the way open to a commission in the line of the navy, if he has the youth, ability, and energy to obtain it. Professor Hollis' article is intended mainly, he says, as an inquiry whether the Personnel bill of 1899 has accomplished what was hoped.

The chief objection to the new legislation was that "no officer can be everything on board ship." Congress never contemplated anything of the kind. No navy of sailors could become a navy of engineers simply by act of Congress. At first, the provisions of the Personnel bill seemed unsatisfactory for three reasons: (1) The change at a single stride from sails to a modern system of battleships was so sudden that it seemed like upsetting the whole service; (2) for a number of years after the Spanish War there was a great scarcity of officers; and (3) the officers into whose hands the new organization fell were either lukewarm or distinctly opposed to it.

The consequence of this attitude was that in engineering matters the navy drifted for five or six years, and the criticism against the outcome of the Personnel bill was entirely justified. It looked for a while as if the Department would be obliged to employ civilian engineers or to extend the duties of the corps of naval constructors to the design, direction, and management of machinery. That time has, however, passed by, and the past four years have demonstrated the capacity of the line to cope with the whole question.

Naval engineering may be divided into four parts: (1) The design of ships and machinery, including guns and propelling engines; (2) construction; (3) operation; (4) maintenance and repairs.

The repairs to the hull and fixed parts of a ship must commonly be done at a naval station. The

repairs to machinery, so far as possible, should be done on board ship by the crew, to the end that a fleet of ships may be self-sustaining in foreign waters. The general overhauling and extensive repairs in fitting for sea are necessarily a navy-yard operation.

Secretary Newberry (who served as head of the Department for a few months previous to Mr. Meyer's incumbency) reorganized the navy-yards by placing all work under the management of a naval constructor. This was a distinct improvement; but, as Professor Hollis points out, the managers of the yards were taken from the corps of naval constructors and, as a consequence, a large number of men fully as able to direct navy-yard operations as they were, were thrown out of work. This naturally aroused intense opposition to the new plan. Secretary Meyer appointed a board to study navy-yard conditions; and on its recommendations, two departments were created in every yard for construction and repairs—one for the hull and the other for the machinery—both under a well-selected commandant. Many other important changes have been introduced by Secretary Meyer, under whose administration a new organization of the navy may be

said to have been carried out. Professor Hollis cites three interesting items of results. In the merchant marine, the annual cost of repairs to machinery exceeds 9 per cent.; in the navy it is only 2 per cent. of the value. In old ships of the line, such as the *Chicago* and *Boston* of the period 1880-1890, the average coal consumption per indicated horsepower for five ships was 2.67; in five ships for the period 1905-1910, such as the *North Dakota* and *Birmingham*, the consumption was but 1.736. The coal consumed for steaming purposes per knot, including tugs, colliers, and torpedo craft, was: in 1907, 1027 pounds; in 1910, 740 pounds only. The total engineering expenses for each horsepower in the navy were: in 1907, 6.04; in 1910, 3.97.

To the charge that the explosion on the *Bennington* was due to the turning of the machinery over to amateurs, Professor Hollis replies that the organization was probably bad and the officers did not look after their work as they should have done; but that this might occur under any system and has occurred before. He considers that one would be justified in saying that in recent years casualties have lessened.

COWBOY SONGS OF THE MEXICAN BORDER

FOR the past five or six years Prof. John A. Lomax, Sheldon Fellow of Harvard University for the Investigation of American Ballads, has been trying to collect the words of the most typical Western cowboy songs, especially those of the States and Territories bordering on Mexico; and the result of his labors is a volume of frontier ballads and cowboy songs, recently issued from the press. In the *Sewanee Review*, Professor Lomax traces the origin of many of these songs and recounts some of his experiences as a collector. Of the sources of some of the songs he writes:

Many of them were given to me by students of west Texas who have been in my classes; some I have obtained from the files of a Texas newspaper of large circulation, which for a number of years has printed a column of old familiar songs; some have come from manuscript scrapbooks; some have been taken down from the lips of ex-cowboys, now in many cases staid and respected citizens. A number of the most interesting songs were obtained from four negroes who have had experience in ranch life. One of these negroes is now a Pullman-car porter, one is a farmer in the Texas Panhandle, one runs a saloon in San Antonio, and a fourth keeps an undertaker's shop. I had the rather unusual experience of sitting in a

dark room surrounded by coffins, while my negro undertaker friend sang into my phonograph an Australian Bush song, widely popular among the cowboys, known as "Jack Donahoe."

As to the authorship of the songs, Professor Lomax asserts that he has made no progress at all, except "to discover four individuals all of whom claim the authorship of the same song." Probably most of them were written during the last fifty or sixty years, and amid social conditions of noteworthy significance. The latter are thus described:

The large cattle ranches of early days were often one hundred miles and farther from places where the conventions of society were observed. On extremely few of these ranches was there a woman in the household. The ranch community consisted of the boss, the cowboys proper, the horse wranglers, and the cook. These men lived on terms of perfect equality. Except in the case of the boss, there was little difference in the amount paid for their services. Society here was reduced to its lowest terms. The work of the men, their daily experiences, their thoughts, their interests, were all in common. Such a community had necessarily to feed on itself for entertainment. There were no books or magazines; and visitors came at rare intervals. It was perfectly natural, then, for the

men to seek diversion in song. Whatever the most gifted man could produce had to bear the criticism of the entire camp, and in a sense had to agree with the ideas of a group of men; else their ridicule would soon force it to be modified. Any song, therefore, that came from such a group would probably be the joint product of a number of them. . . . The choruses of such community songs seem specially invented to urge on the cattle when they grew tired on the long drives. The cowboy's shrill cries, his whooping and yelling in thousands of variations, as well as the pop of the whip that he once carried, were employed to encourage the cattle to move faster. These cries were, in occasional instances at least, merged into measured verses, fitted to tunes, and finally attached permanently to some cowboy narrative in verse.

The titles of the songs give a tolerably clear idea of their contents. Among them are: "The Dying Cowboy," "A Midnight Stampede," "The Crooked Trail to Holbrook," "The Dying Ranger," "When Bob Got Thrown," "The Cowboy's Hopeless Love," "The Trials of a Mormon Settler," "The Dying Californian." They tell of the cowboy's mother, sweetheart, and home; recount the exploits of outlaws such as Sam Bass, Jesse James, and Cole Younger; they treat of the cowboy's hardships, his encounters with the law, and his thoughts of death. When the famous Texas ranger Mustang Gray died, a song was made about him, the chorus of which runs:

No more he'll go a-ranging the savage to affright;
He has heard his last warwhoop and fought his last fight.

Another ranger utters this warning:

Perhaps you have a mother, likewise a sister, too,
And maybe so a sweetheart to grieve and mourn for you.
If this be your condition, although you'd like to roam,
I'd advise you by experience, you had better stay at home.

Sometimes it has been his sweetheart who has sent the cowboy roving:

These locks she has curled, shall the rattlesnake kiss?
This brow she has kissed, shall the cold grave press?

Occasionally he speaks of her in jocular familiarity:

There was a little gal,
And she lived with her mother;
All the devils out of hell
Couldn't scare up such another.

One condition out of which grew the songs was the loneliness of the men while night-

herding after bedding the cattle down for the night, and after most of their comrades were asleep. Cowboys say that the voice had a quieting effect on the cattle.

Many of the songs deal with the cowboy's daily life; as, for example:

O, the cowpuncher loves the whistle of his rope,
As he races over the plains:
And the stagedriver loves the popper of his whip
And the jingle of his concord chains.
And we'll all pray the Lord that we will be saved,
And we'll keep the golden rule;
But I'd rather be at home with the girl I love
Than to monkey with this dad-blamed mule.

Another cowboy thus boasts of his skill:

I'm a rowdy cowboy, just off the stormy plains;
My trade is cinching saddles and pulling bridle reins.
Oh, I can tip the lasso; it is with graceful ease
I rope a streak of lightning and ride it where I please.

The sad ending of many a rough rider is depicted in the following:

It was once in the saddle
I used to go dashing;
It was once in the saddle
I used to go gay.
First to the dram house,
Then to the card house—
Got shot in the breast,
I'm dying to-day.

The cowboy is not usually regarded as a deeply religious person. He himself says: "On the plains we scarcely know a Sunday from a Monday." He, however, sings of God in the familiar terms of the range:

They say He'll never forget you,
That He knows every action and look,
So for safety you had better keep branded—
Have your name on His big Tally Book.

That he sometimes thinks of the future life is indicated in the following lines:

Perhaps I will be a stray cowboy,
A maverick, unbranded on high,
And get cut in the bunch with the "rustics,"
When the Boss of the Riders goes by.

Last night as I lay on the prairie,
And looked up at the stars in the sky,
I wondered if ever a cowboy
Would drift to that Sweet Bye and Bye.

Professor Lomax says that he considers the present result of his work to be but a meager part of the existing material. It is to be hoped that he will be able to continue his researches.

HYGIENE AND THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION

DR. KOLLE, professor of hygiene and bacteriology at the University of Berne, contributes to the Berlin *Woche* an article in which he traces the development of hygiene from remote times to the present, which he characterizes as the "scientific-experimental" stage. He remarks that there is no other field of investigation which gives us as true a measure of the culture of a people.

We find, he reminds us, that even the primeval nations of antiquity and the present primitive African and Asiatic tribes endeavor to ward off disease, particularly (in a field which is so important a feature in modern hygiene) contagious diseases and epidemics.

The attention to hygiene is more noticeable in the civilized nations of antiquity than in the primitive ones, and the greater the strides of culture the more definite are the regulations regarding health. With the ancient Egyptians and Israelites, sanitation and medical science were under the protection of the state and the ruling castes, the priests, and were, therefore, regulated by religious laws. Thus the Mosaic laws are, in fact, in great part hygienic ones. In the case of the Greeks of the classic age, hygiene was developed in much the same way. The great lawgivers, Lycurgus and Solon, took care that hygiene should have its full share in the public requirements of life. Regulations concerning cleanliness, hardening of the body, etc., played a great rôle. Public sanitation was likewise enriched by the supervision of the public pumps. No less a person than Themistocles was invested with such an office; for all epidemics were then traced to the water supply. The statesmen of all-conquering Rome early recognized the significance of hygiene. As culture rapidly advanced in a few centuries to the heights exhibited at the close of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire, measures for the public welfare and the care of the body attained their fullest bloom. The magnificent public baths, whose vast extent excites our wonder even to-day, were hygienic arrangements for rich and poor. As evidence of public sanitation, we still admire the grand aqueducts whose ruins so picturesquely traverse the broad sweep of the Campagna.

The distinguishing features of the first developments of sanitation are these: the regulations proceeded either from the priests, as religious laws, or were occasioned by the great massing of people and the consequent epidemics which were combated by statesmen with a view, in great part, to maintaining martial efficiency. In Athens, as well as in Rome and Alexandria, the state issued sanitary regulations based purely upon empiricism or lay experience, though at times proving efficacious.

Since, therefore, hygiene was as yet no science, all its achievements were lost with the fall of the Roman Empire and its culture. Not only were the sanitary arrangements destroyed, but hygienic regulations and culture and personal care of the body disappeared in the Dark Ages with the state religions and the sects which had given them birth. Dogma, faith in authority, and unboundedly fanciful beliefs in natural phenomena held undisputed sway up to the close of the sixteenth century. It was only through the reform in anatomy and physiology that progress was initiated in hygienics. It was recognized more and more that great epidemics resulted from natural causes and were not chastisements of an incensed Deity, and from the efforts to check them the scientific bases of public sanitation were developed.

Then followed the last stage of hygienic evolution—one that may be designated as the era of scientific-experimental hygiene, with which bacteriology is indissolubly united.

If we wish to characterize properly this period of fifty years or thereabouts, it would be fitting to do so as one in which hygiene as a part of medical science concerns itself with the usual environment of man and makes a scientific study of all its factors that may have a disturbing effect upon his organism or lower his efficiency. Thanks to Pettenkofer's initiative, hygienic institutions were founded, where—bacteria and protozoa being, externally, the greatest inciters of infectious diseases—bacteriology is made an important branch of study.

In spite of the fact that hygiene is generally recognized as a science and a cultural factor, particularly in view of its practical successes, objections continue to arise against it as regards its usefulness in the interest of mankind. They have reference to the considerations raised by Malthus and Spencer.

As far as the doctrine of the former is concerned—the fear that effective sanitation will multiply the population of a country to such an extent that there will not be sufficient nutriment and that epidemics will follow in consequence, causing a high death-rate—it can no longer be considered applicable to Europe, or to America and Africa for that matter. The advances in technology, the improvement in agriculture and means of communication, have nullified those objections. Spencer's theory is essentially as follows: Hygiene limits the natural processes of selection, such as infant and youthful mortality, or checks them completely. In a country, therefore, where hygiene is steadily pursued, there will be an increasingly feeble population, which will be unable to resist natural ills such as epidemics, or to bear up in the struggle for existence. The history of the civilized nations of Europe in the last centuries has, however, to a certain extent, belied Spencer's doctrine. Under the influence of hygiene more vigorous generations have, as a rule, arisen than

before the spread of that science. And precisely in considering the value, for instance, of combating infant mortality, we should never forget how many notable personalities who were weaklings as children owe their lives only to the most careful nurture. We may mention, naming only a few, Goethe, Kant, Helmholtz.

But the voices raised in favor of "natural selection" by aid of infectious diseases, and the complaints concerning the encroachment upon such selective forces by hygienics, will not cease. The serious reproach is brought against that science that by its agency many inferior lives are perpetu-

ated. That the struggle for existence is a principle designed by Nature, and one requisite for the good of the species, can hardly be denied. We encounter it everywhere in Nature—in lower animal and in plant life, even where we feel as if there reigned the profoundest peace. But this breach of Nature's law of the "survival of the fittest" is only an apparent one. Hygiene does not exclude the struggle for existence; it only robs it of its brutal, arbitrarily physical features, and turns it, with a view to the spiritual advance of mankind, into paths leading to the welfare of the community and the family.

HAS TURKEY A FOREIGN POLICY?

THAT the foreign policies of most of the European powers are now actually shaped according to their respective interests in the Near East, has come to be recognized by all statesmen, journalists and students of politics. The danger spot of the world's peace lies in the Balkans and Western Asia. Questions of international importance, affecting directly tens of millions of people, are now agitating all the countries lying between the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, Black and Caspian seas, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. These countries, inhabited mostly by Moslems, whose recent awakening has alarmed the whole world, were for years the victims of either local tyrants or of their European masters. The Ottoman Empire, with its vast dominions in Europe, Asia and Africa, being the most powerful of these Moslem states and directly influencing their religious sentiments, through the Sultan, the Khalif, always has been and still is the natural stage of the diplomatic developments upon which the Powers are trying to gain influence and supremacy in those countries.

Especially has Constantinople become important, since the late revolution. At the same time, the influence of the Young Turk government over the Moslems of all countries has become more important and its prestige has been increased by the far-reaching reforms which have been begun in the army and navy. It is becoming apparent that Turkey has changed the situation herself, and from being a passive toy in the hands of Europe, has gradually become an active factor, to be figured with on the chessboard of world politics. She now has a well-defined foreign policy of her own. This policy has been of late the subject of much discussion in the European press, and has even been freely debated in the Ottoman Parliament, by ministers and deputies alike.

Of the two political groups or alliances now

dividing Europe,—the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance,—the powers composing the first (England,—France and Russia) have their largest colonies inhabited by Moslems, who are becoming restless. This condition is due in part to local political discontent, but also to an awakened national feeling and to the example of the Turkish revolution. These powers, moreover, are endeavoring to widen their spheres of influence in some of the Moslem countries, heretofore independent but now politically agitated, with the ultimate aim of making them protectorates. On the other hand, the members of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria and Italy), have no Moslem colonies and proclaim themselves as ambitious only to receive commercial or industrial opportunities in Turkey and the other Moslem countries. One of these powers, Germany, has helped to reorganize the Turkish army, has guaranteed to float a loan of approximately \$40,000,000 for the Turkish Government, and has expressed herself as ready to adjust in a friendly and satisfactory manner all outstanding differences. Many Turks, therefore, are openly advocating an adherence to the Triple Alliance, so as to unite all Moslem interests with the Germanic,—this as a sort of counterweight to the traditional enemy, the Slav. The journals of Turkey freely discuss this situation.

TOWARD WHICH EUROPEAN ALLIANCE?

The *Jeune Turc* (Constantinople), in a very elaborate historical analysis of the question, says in part:

To begin with our neighbors,—except Roumania, with whom we have no disputes and no frontiers,—none of the Balkan States are even as much as diplomatic friends. They all have as an object the ruin of the Ottoman Empire, whose natural heirs they consider themselves to be . . . therefore no possibility of a "Balkan Federation" to defend common interests, as there are none.

... Among the Triple Entente, there is Russia, our traditional enemy, who must aim at our destruction, in order to preserve herself. She cannot be our ally. Is it not to defend ourselves eventually against her that we are looking for an alliance? Can the wolf and the lamb agree? Does not the Muscovite power wish to wipe us out of the map, as she has done with Poland? History is here to show how the Empire of the Czars has become larger at our cost. Is not the same empire applying with the complicity of Great Britain the same methods used to appropriate Poland, Finland, Bokhara, Caucasia, etc., to the division of Persia? As to Great Britain, that country is for us simply a more civilized Russia. . . . Is it not for Egypt, Cyprus and the hinterland of Aden, that we desire to be strong? England will never desire that we should be able to defend ourselves. As to France, we need her money but not her usurers. We need her science, her language, her liberty, equality, but not her principles as applied in her colonies. Can we forget Tunisia, the foolish acts of Waldeck-Rousseau in Metelin, and the treatment of our military instructors in Fez, although we appreciate her intervention in our behalf in Crete? While it would be advisable to have an entente with France, an alliance is out of question. . . . Who are, then; those who have common interests with us? The Triple Alliance. Some would say that Germany has also done us much wrong during Abdul-Hamid's reign, which is true; but the alliance could help to adjust easily all our present troubles with her, including the Bagdad Railway agreement. Of course we have not forgotten Bosnia-Herzegovina, but which is the best combination for us: an alliance with larger usurpers or smaller ones? And has not Austria-Hungary shown her good will by evacuating the Sandjak of Novi Bazar?

The *Yeni-Gazetta* (New Journal), also of Constantinople, attacks the Russian policy toward Turkey and answers the attacks of the Muscovite press, as follows:

Russia continues her policy of intrigue in the Balkans, to hurt our reforms and reorganizations; she is trying to put new obstacles in our way. Has she forgotten the Far-Eastern calamity, from which she cannot recover in the next fifteen years? . . . If Russia would renounce her low aspirations and become more human and liberal, she would be our best friend; if she would have as her aim only humanity and progress, we would gladly forget all our differences, and could easily make a warehouse of wealth out of Anatolia and Southern Russia. But unfortunately politics in Russia are quite different.

AN OLD TURK AND THE YOUNG TURKS

But are the Young Turks, with all their shrewdness, actually carrying public opinion in Turkey with them? The testimony is not unanimous. One old Turk,—no less a personage than the remarkable Kiamil Pasha, formerly Grand Vizier,—doubts it, and expresses his dissent from the general opinion in a vigorous interview recently reported in *Hellenisme*, the organ of the Pan-Greek party,

which is published in Paris. The fact that Kiamil Pasha has adhered to the constitution, and has even accepted the post of one of the first Grand Viziers under the new Sultan, Mohammed V, lends even greater weight to his utterances. He has studied the Young Turks and their system at close range, and he knows all the men who are directing the destinies of the Empire at the present hour. Disgusted with what he saw going on around him, he resolved to leave Constantinople. On his way to Smyrna, some months ago, he was interviewed by a representative of a Constantinople journal. The aged statesman is far from sharing the aspirations of the present Turkish Government or of approving its methods. "The Young Turks," he said, "are a mere 'continuation' of Abdul Hamid." And he adds, "To speak frankly I see nothing beautiful in this chauvinistic policy. We are nearing an abyss. Our present politicians are doing things that are perfectly childish, and it is hard to foresee the consequences to this poor empire."

Concerning the Turco-Roumanian military convention, Kiamil Pasha said that, in spite of all the noise that was made about it and the number of times it was denied, it is of no strategic value to Turkey. He also declared himself against Turkey entering the Triple Alliance,—“for the integrity of Turkey is guaranteed by the Treaty of Berlin, and should we now fall into the arms of the three powers, the others, feeling that they were thereby released from their agreement, would jump upon us and bring about most undesirable complications. This is why I was just saying that our present policy is leading us to the edge of a precipice.”

When questioned about the attitude of the Young Turks toward Greece, Kiamil Pasha says:

My opinion is that we should maintain the most friendly relations with Greece. We have many interests in common. There are so many Greek elements in Turkey. A hostile policy toward Greece can only bring about most disastrous results, while from fraternizing might spring happy and advantageous consequences for both peoples. A war with Greece is, in the present state of affairs, not practicable. It would not be of any advantage to us. I think that our statesmen should endeavor to avoid a war, and, above all, they should make every effort to put an end to the commercial war, called "boycott," which has become a veritable plague to Turkey. I am convinced it is not tolerated by the Government but is maintained by a few influential members of the Union and Progress Committee. These gentlemen will not understand that this commercial war is waged against the Ottomans, and that the Ottomans suffer from it far more than the Greeks.

THE DETECTION OF FIRE DAMP IN COAL MINES

IT has always been difficult to make the individual miner realize that *he* can be careless enough to do others harm. Safety appliances are common, which, if used as they should be, would do away with much of the danger which constantly threatens workers in bituminous coal mines; but the history of colliery explosions presents many a case where the thoughtlessness of one man has set at naught all the care of a hundred of his fellows. Failure to notice clear warnings of danger is usually the cause of shocking disasters.

A recent paper in *Cosmos* discusses certain new devices which, acting automatically, are intended to compel attention to warnings of the presence of fire damp. The safety of the miners would be greatly increased if each worker could, without stopping his work, keep himself informed of the condition of the atmosphere; but the average miner, too accustomed to the danger in the midst of which he lives, is indifferent, inattentive and, often, imprudent. Consequently, a warning system, to be worth while, must work automatically in such a way as to compel his attention, and, further, report the dangerous condition of things to others who may be some distance away. The two devices described by Dr. Icard of Marseilles have these ends in view. When the atmosphere contains less than 6 per cent. of fire damp by volume, the mixture will burn if ignited, but the heat generated is not sufficient to cause a general explosion. A lamp burning in such an atmosphere will cause only those portions of the gas mixture in immediate contact with the flame to ignite. This burning gas assumes a conical shape which we may call the "combustion cone." The size of this cone is proportional to the amount of fire damp present. Unfortunately, the bluish haze which envelops the combustion cone makes it difficult to define, and its size cannot be determined with any accuracy except with the aid of special lamps.

Dr. Icard believes that the combustion cone is always hot enough to heat to incandescence suitable substances introduced into it. His device consists in introducing into the cone of burning fire damp, just beyond the limits of the lamp flame, a fiber or wire or plate of some non-combustible material capable of readily becoming incandescent. That portion of this material which is in contact with the hot gases of the combustion cone will become incandescent and glow brilliantly, while the part that is outside the cone will

remain comparatively cool and therefore dull. The limits of the combustion cone, and therefore the proportion of the fire damp to the total atmospheric gases, are clearly indicated. Asbestos, in the form of very fine fiber, mica, in the form of very thin plates, and platinum are the three substances which seem to promise the best results. The glowing power of the substance used can be increased by the use of alkaline-earth oxides and other substances employed in the Welsbach type of lamps.

But the temperature of the combustion cone at any one point does not remain constant: this also varies with the amount of fire damp present. On this as a basis, a "fire-damp scale" can be constructed, giving successive temperatures and the several percentages of fire damp corresponding to them for the same spot in the combustion cone. The device by which Dr. Icard proposes to make this property useful consists in introducing into the atmosphere of the lamp, at a definite point in the combustion cone, some substance (metal or alloy) whose melting-point corresponds exactly with the temperature which the combustion cone exhibits at this point for a given percentage of fire damp. The metal in the melting may be arranged to break a connection, establish a contact, etc., and thus give a signal which must inevitably attract the attention of the miners.

Although the employment of these two devices (that for incandescence and that for fusion) may be capable of providing a lamp which will measure the fire damp, the aim of the inventor is after all to construct simple lamps merely to show the presence of fire damp. The fusion device, in particular, is applicable to all the safety devices of the mine; it may be so operated as not materially to take away from the simplicity or durability of the miner's lamp.

Suggestions in this field are welcome: recent colliery explosions have called for a more careful study of their causes and of the means to be used to avoid them. Strict precautions are taken before each descent into the galleries, and the English law compels those in charge to satisfy themselves of the absence of methane from the workings, before allowing the miners to enter the galleries. To this end the cuttings are carefully inspected at each shift of the men by a special force who examine the flames of the lamps. If the flame becomes longer and more brilliant at the

tip, the presence of the terribly explosive gas is indicated. Still, if these indications develop slowly, it may be hard to detect them; it is therefore necessary to make the evidence so marked that all chance of mistaking it would be removed. This is what Cunyngnam and Cadman have tried to do, in proposing, as an easy means of noting the size of the combustion cone, to color it by the introduction of sodium in some form. Just as dust particles containing lime or soda salts produce a marked coloration of a laboratory burner flame, sharply outlining it; so, by means of an ingenious contrivance operated without opening the miner's lamp, a piece of uralite impregnated with sodium bicarbonate may be inserted in the combustion cone and its luminosity immensely increased. In such a case the lamp's light-giving power may be easily increased without moving the wick,—something which has frequently led to the extinguishment of the light, with all that that might mean.

Study has been directed of late to the question whether there is any connection between the amount of fire damp in the colliery workings and the pressure of the atmosphere at the time. Opinions upon this subject have been divided: some claiming that a low barometer was accompanied by a marked rise in the percentage of methane in the headings; others refusing to believe that so marked

a result could be produced by comparatively slight changes in atmospheric pressure.

After quoting the opinions of a number of engineers upon this question, L. Morin has given an account of the work carried on last year at Liévin, which led to the following conclusions:

(1) Every variation in atmospheric pressure is accompanied by a corresponding variation in the proportion of methane, which increases when the pressure falls and decreases when the pressure rises.

(2) The variations in the amounts of methane may be very marked, and a fall of 30 millimeters (1.2 inch) in the mercury column may produce a difference of 50 per cent. in the ratio of methane to air in the galleries of the mine.

(3) The comparisons of the atmospheric pressures, on the one hand, and the percentages of methane present, on the other, were made at times when the results could be regarded as free from any disturbing factors.

The author also describes efforts made to determine the source of the fire damp set free. It seemed to be contained in the spaces between the walls of old workings, as well as in the earth enclosing the veins of coal. He concludes with a discussion of precautions likely to ward off danger from the escape of fire damp, such as a vigorous ventilation at times of low atmospheric pressure, etc.

A LIGHTHOUSE WITHOUT A KEEPER

IT frequently happens that in the neighborhood of important seaports there exist dangerous rocks on which or near which it is difficult to build and maintain the usual type of lighthouse, and which yet call for a more effective provision than is supplied by buoys. A recent article in *Cosmos* describes a lighthouse of considerable power erected at no great cost and maintained without a keeper.

The entrance to the harbor of St. Peter Port, on the island of Guernsey, is very dangerous by reason of the numerous rocks which up to the present have had no mark. To do away with some of the danger attending the passage of the Little Russell Channel, a lighthouse provided with a fog-horn has been built upon a small isolated rock called Platte Fougère. There was not room enough to put up a lighthouse with accommodations for keepers; instead, a small concrete tower was erected, about 16 by 13 feet in section, and about 65 feet high, carrying a lantern and the

fog-horn. The lamp is fed with acetylene from gas-cylinders below. The flame is lit and maintained automatically by means of apparatus controlled by clockwork. The siren has a horn four feet in diameter and is worked by compressed air, for which there are three reservoirs in the tower, as well as two pumps or air-compressors which work independently to maintain the pressure in the reservoirs. These compressors are operated by electric motors which receive their current (three-phase alternating) by submarine cable from a station built upon the mainland of Guernsey. The siren, when in operation, is audible for a long distance, sounding at intervals of one and one-half minutes.

The submarine cable, a mile and a quarter long, contains the three principal conductors which carry the current (600 volts, 25 alternations per second), and in addition two secondary wires, by means of which it is possible, from the mainland of Guernsey, to set in

motion either of the motor compressors for the siren, and to receive signals from the lighthouse.

The plant has cost \$42,000. A lighthouse arranged for keepers, on the same site, would have cost \$300,000.

SOME IRISH ELECTIONEERING EXPERIENCES

ORIGINALITY is a distinguishing feature of the Irish character, manifesting itself in every condition of society and in every walk of life; and it is not surprising to find it especially prominent in so fertile a field as electioneering. According to Mr. Stephen Gwynn, M. P., in the *Cornhill* (London), much more fun for one's money is to be had at Irish elections than at those of England. He writes:

There is very little of the printers' bill; few candidates issue even an election address, still fewer trouble the electors with argumentative "literature." You rely for persuasion upon native eloquence, supplemented by processions, torches, tar-barrels, and, above all, by music. To run an Irish election without a band is indeed an uphill and depressing business.

Mr. Gwynn found this to be the case at his first plunge into politics; and he gives the following graphic account of the election in question:

It began with an instantaneous extinguishing of all the town's electric light at the moment when I alighted on the platform, coming as a stranger selected that day at a convention, and confidently anticipating an unopposed return. No experienced speaker would be upset by a trifle of this kind, but I was not experienced; my first address, delivered in total darkness, suffered; and when I found that my room in the hotel was numbered thirteen I grew more uneasy, if possible. But the key of our opponents' strategy was the control of the bands. One band they possessed and utilized to the full, drawing crowds after it irresistibly. Another they paralyzed. It was always on the point of coming out, but one day instruments were out of gear; another day, when musicians and all were established in a wagonette, something happened to the lynch-pin. We fell back on importation from a neighboring town, but in a rash moment this band was left standing unsupported in a street some distance from our crowd. A swoop was made by a strong party of the enemy, and in two minutes all instruments were captured and borne off. So began the fiercest street riot that I have ever witnessed: so fierce that providentially it enabled us to dispense for the remainder of the contest with the moral effect of music.

Irish elections divide themselves into two classes—the regular and the irregular. In elections of the irregular type feeling runs high; and yet there is no venom in it. Three or four years ago Mr. Gwynn at a certain contest received a slight blow from a stick. Later in the afternoon, he relates, as he stood talking to some people, a dog-cart passed him

and a big young farmer in it took off his hat rather sheepishly. On asking who it was, Mr. Gwynn was told, "That's the man who hit you."

Mr. Gwynn cites the following as the droll-est and most humiliating of all his electioneering experiences:

It was in the snowy end of last January, and I had traveled from early morning till eleven at night. As the train drew up on the platform, I, looking out for my friends, perceived a small crowd, some twenty or thirty, who, it was easy to know, were not there for my welcome. Presently one came up to me and asked if I was going to work for Mr. —, naming our candidate. I told him my name, which, indeed, was so visible on my bag that I did not think of trying concealment. There was a consultation. Then the crowd gathered about me, and the two leaders explained to me that for me personally they had the deepest respect; that they were sure I had been misled as to the local situation, but that "the streets of B— would run with blood if I came into them," and that there was another train just starting for Dublin, by which I must return. They added, meaningly, "If it was some others that was in it they wouldn't be so lucky as to get the chance." The allusion was, I regret to say, to the leader of my party. . . . Meanwhile there was I wishing very much that it was "others that was in it," since proper arrangements would have been made to meet them; and very angry with my friends who had left me to decide whether I really must, for the sake of honor and glory, risk getting kicked to bits by a mob. So we stood and parleyed, I asserting my unalterable determination to sleep in B—, they repeating (with gusto) the phrase about blood running in the streets. At last one of the big men said suddenly, "Begorra, we'll carry you." I did my best to look furious, but inwardly was much relieved as they lifted me like a bale of goods, carried me round to the other side of the station, and flung me into a carriage. It surprised me to notice that one of the two chief men (whose name I had learned—he was a local district councilor and justice of the peace) was watching over me as if I were a baby, and distributing chastisement to any of the younger lads who tried to get a stroke or a kick at me. When I was fairly shut in, and my bags flung after me, just before the train moved off, he stood on the carriage step and wanted to shake hands.

One thing Mr. Gwynn is able to say for Irish electioneering, and that is, the element of idealism is dominant in Irish politics. The best proof of this, he says, is that the richest man cannot hope by the most judicious liberality to alter the complexion of any constituency, be it Unionist or Nationalist. So much, he thinks, cannot be said for the English electorate.

IS THE DEATH OF MARXISM AT HAND?

RADICAL changes are impending in the programs, ideals and organizations of the socialist movement throughout the world, if we are to accept the judgment of Dr. Paul Weisengrün, the Austrian student of political movements. In a long, scholarly analysis of the progress of political socialism which he contributes to a recent number of the *Osterreichische Rundschau* (Vienna), Dr. Weisengrün maintains that "all the really enlightened minds of Europe now recognize the fact that theoretical Marxism is nearing its end."

The pious souls whose wishes take the form of social ideals for the future may still, of course, be counted by the hundred thousands. And in such circles the phrases "exploiters," "increment of value," "inherent law of capitalistic development," are still regarded as sacred formulas. But even in this army of believers the old dogmas are losing their magic, the doubters are multiplying daily. The issue now turns upon overcoming "revisionism" itself, upon showing that it is impossible to permanently reconcile social idealism with social realism; that no path, however difficult of discovery, leads from Kant to Marx, from a freer, more real psychological conception of things to a mechanical socialism.

This judgment, Dr. Weisengrün admits, applies only to theoretical Marxism. He goes on to say:

The collapse of "practical Marxism" is a most recent event, and we are witnessing only the first act of this stupendous drama. Those who think only of a "revolutionary wing" and an "evolutionary direction" do not realize the true relation of things. The actual facts are these: as long as, following Marx, it could be believed that capitalism was digging its own grave, so long did the working classes need to follow only a simple, straight policy. Continual agitation, enlightening the masses—that was all. If, however, it can no longer be held that the present social order is being destroyed by industrial development, the doom of that simple policy is sealed. The question assumes quite a different aspect. The term "a coherent reactionary mass," applied to the bourgeoisie, begins to lose its force. The new movement favors the coalition of all liberal elements in order to remove the remnants of economic feudalism. That this movement is so general and vigorous is the first obvious sign of the decline of practical Marxism.

"Practical Marxism is based on a correspondence—presumably inevitable—between the increase of industrialism and the growth of social democracy." It is a strange fact

that neither Great Britain, which was the founder of modern industrialism, nor America, the real perfecter of it, can point to a real Social Democratic party. The Austrian writer believes that, despite the strength of British trade unionism, political socialism in England is still in its infancy, and the same statement, he maintains, holds good of the United States.

The comparative weakness of the labor movement in that country of pronounced capitalism is undeniable. Nay, even the anti-trust agitation, which has dominated politics there in recent years, has not had the effect of essentially strengthening American socialism. The extension of industrialism, the power of technical concentration, the increase of great concerns—the growth of Social Democracy assuredly, then, does not depend upon these factors alone. Its progress must turn on other circumstances.

Turning now to the consideration of the so-called Social Democracy on the continent, Dr. Weisengrün observes that "in Austria, as well as in Germany, socialism thrives on the mistakes of its opponents." He says:

How is this ineptitude of the bourgeoisie, which may be regarded as the tower of strength of practical Marxism, to be accounted for? If the materialist interpretation of history were correct, if political movements represented directly and simply the results of economic forces, we should not have such strong remnants of political and economic feudalism in Europe, nor such differentiation in European capitalism. But the materialist interpretation of history is fundamentally erroneous. The striving for economic power is not the sole ruler of the world—sexual relations, emotional considerations, to some extent abstract thinking, and other factors, influence the devious road of economic development. The social straight road exists only in the imagination of one-sided, even if able, economists.

It is the tragedy of Marxism, continues this writer, that "it cannot adapt itself at all to a healthy capitalism . . . and that it forgets the fact that there is in process a veritable rejuvenation of capitalism in general."

Thus we have a rivalry between the lack of insight of the bourgeoisie and the political impotence of practical Marxism. In England there is no such struggle, owing to the discernment of the bourgeoisie. Prussia is a striking evidence of how the Government, too, by its reactionary policy has played into the hands of the socialists.

INVESTORS' PROTECTION

WITH OTHER NEWS OF BUSINESS AND INVESTMENTS

The Passing of Corporation "Overlordship"

ANOTHER great banker made it clear last month that he regards the expression of the popular will that there be more democracy in the management of corporations as something worth while recognizing.

It is fortunate to find such men as Otto H. Kahn taking a public-spirited attitude on this question. Mr. Kahn is a member of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Company and was one of the closest associates of the late E. H. Harriman. In the course of an address on the life of that remarkable financier and railroad genius Mr. Kahn said:

His [Harriman's] death coincided with what appears to be the end of an epoch in our economic development. His career was the embodiment of unfettered individualism. For better or for worse—personally I believe for better, unless we go too far and too fast—the people appear determined to put limits and restraints upon the exercise of economic power and overlordship, just as in former days they put limits and restraints upon the absolutism of rulers.

A writer in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for October, 1909, shortly after Mr. Harriman's death, said:

With him an epoch closed—the one-man rule of great railroads. A group of the world's ablest are keeping up the work—better, so the critics say. But not one of them could do it as he did, alone and absolute.

These two ideas are similar. But in the light of present tendencies, Mr. Kahn's thought has new significance. It throws additional light upon the changed attitude which the "big interests" are taking toward the public.

We spoke last month of the defensive positions which appear to have been taken by these "interests" on the question of Government regulation. Mr. Harriman's friend and confidant was asked if he did not have in mind as one of the events of the new epoch to which he referred, the present efforts of the Hadley Commission to formulate some plan whereby the Government might insist that investors be taken more into the confidence of the railroads having securities for sale. Mr. Kahn did not reply directly. Great bankers do not talk offhand on big

questions, especially those which concern their own business. They fear being misunderstood. However, Mr. Kahn let it be inferred that he favored a better understanding between the corporations and the public.

Practising What They Preach

MR. OTTO H. KAHN is one of the directors of the vast system of railroads which bears the name "Harriman." It was a mere coincidence, perhaps, that only a few days after he had given so intimate a view of the personality of the man who made that system great, official announcement should have been forthcoming of a plan comprehending the expenditure of millions for the improvement and development of those properties. It was a coincidence, too, that in the same week a Western banker should have declared, in testifying before the Hadley Commission, that "capital is as patriotic as the men who control it." But these three incidents formed a chain of significant financial news.

The determination of the officers and directors of the "Harriman Pacific" to undertake such work at this time was everywhere hailed as rather upsetting the "orthodox" view of railroad men, that unless they were allowed to raise rates, and unless regulatory legislation were to cease, progress would halt.

President Lovett and his associates are patriotic. They propose a "square deal" with capital and with the people of the West, whom they aim to serve. They say, in effect, that the spirit of fair and open dealing should prevail as between the corporations and the public just as it prevails in business between man and man. They are confident of success.

Such is the attitude of the men who are carrying on the work which Harriman began—differently, it is true, but with no less a belief in the possibilities of the West than that which furnished their former general with a motive for his achievements.

A Cheerful English Critic

IT is encouraging to find a cheerful view of the general railroad situation being taken by an authority who has been trained in an entirely different school of criticism.

W. M. Acworth, the highest authority on railroads in Great Britain, says that "in actual economy of operation the railways of the United States are first in the world." The chief fault which he finds is one for which many of our own prominent railroad men have already realized they must seek a remedy. On his recent departure for home, after several weeks of study of conditions in this country, Mr. Acworth said, with reference to America's railroad administration:

I think the centralization of administrative power in your headquarters offices in Chicago and New York, while tending doubtless to efficiency and economy, is responsible in some degree for the present strained relations between the railways and the public. As a wise railway friend of mine says, "the counter between the salesman and the customer is too wide."

Relationship of a more personal character between the railroad executives and the public, Mr. Acworth believes, would work wonders. He would have officers clothed with large discretionary powers living among the people of the West and South, studying local problems and getting first-hand knowledge of how to bring the services of their roads up to the point of maximum efficiency.

"Time was," said Mr. Acworth, "when your railways had a good many skeletons in their cupboards and then they naturally kept them shut. Nowadays the skeletons are all buried and I think the railways would do well to open their cupboards and let the public see how sweet and clean they are."

The "Aldrich Plan"

MOST business men know, from actual experience, though probably few would be able to offer a technical explanation of it, what a source of aggravation the country's present "inelastic" Government bond secured note issues can be, when money is "tight." The supplanting, or, at least, the supplementing of, these old note issues with notes based upon the credit instruments of the country's commercial business is a significant feature of a proposal which constituted one of the most important incidents in last month's news.

An "Americanized Central Bank"—that is what some one has rather happily called the Reserve Association which is the fundamental part of the plan recently proposed by Senator Aldrich, Chairman of the National Monetary Commission, for the reform of the country's currency system.

In all of the technical provisions of the plan the average reader will scarcely be

interested. His concern is more about the results which are sought to be accomplished through it. Viewed broadly, it does not differ essentially from any of the other plans which have been so widely discussed during the last two or three years. Its principal aims are:

The coordination of the country's banking machinery; and the provision of a means of getting money when money is most needed.

Our bankers have for some time realized that the present banking system could not much longer be retained, if we were to keep up with all of the complex problems which naturally confront any great commercial nation, and if we were to compete in financial strength with the other countries of the world. But they have been divided in opinion—apparently hopelessly so at times—as to whether the time was ripe for a change.

It is interesting, therefore, and no less important, that at a meeting at Atlantic City, just before Lincoln's Birthday, representatives of many of the country's largest financial institutions passed resolutions approving of most of the details of the "Aldrich Plan."

Under some such plan as that which Senator Aldrich has submitted for discussion, more "money" could be created when the demand for it was greatest, and it would automatically retire itself as the demand diminished. That would tend to insure "peaceful finance"—something which every investor would welcome.

"Expectations" as the Basis of Value

A THOUSAND or more holders of irrigation bonds recently had their interest coupons, which they had sent in for collection, returned to them with the explanation, "No funds." Immediately, on all sides, there were heard expressions of dismay, of which the following are typical:

I am a woman with so small a property that I dare not lose. I don't know what to do to protect my interest—and have no money to do it with, anyhow.

I am utterly astounded. Does this mean that the bonds, which were so highly commended, are worthless? What shall I do about it?

The experience through which these investors are passing may well serve as an object lesson for those who have irrigation securities offered to them in the future. For that reason there is justification enough for a recurrence to an investment question which has been discussed in these columns on several occasions in the past.

The latest failures in this field of enterprise are of two companies organized under the "Carey Act," one to operate in Idaho, the other in Montana. Neither one of the projects was of the wildcat type; both were promoted by bankers who, by reason of past successes, had long been regarded as meriting the confidence of the public; both were considered promising.

What, then, does it mean that in no longer than a year after the bonds were widely distributed, the holders are left "high and dry"—cut off, for no one knows how long, from the income on what they believed to be sound investments, and wondering what is to become of their principal?

It means that the bankers who were primarily interested in financing the two enterprises overextended their operations. Their capital resources proved inadequate for the completion of the irrigation plants—the dams, reservoirs, canals and ditches, without which the "water rights" underlying the bonds become useless, and the lands securing the bonds are left barren, non-productive and of little value.

Against such a contingency—unforeseen, of course, in these particular instances—repeated warnings had been sounded. This magazine gave its share of them. It is especially unfortunate that they remained unheard, or at any rate unheeded, by those who cannot afford to take risks with their savings. The values behind the bonds of these two companies at the time of their issuance and sale were merely potential; they were conditioned entirely upon results which the promoters *expected* to obtain from their undertakings; there was little of the real about them.

There will be other issues of "construction bonds" like these. It is probably right there should be. The future of the industry of irrigation farming is assured, and it ought to command such capital as it needs for its fullest development. There is certain to result, however, a finer sense on the part of investors of discrimination between bonds which are speculative and those which, representing properties that are "going," have entered the ranks of investments. Of the latter there are not a few. There are proper places for both classes.

Banker's Responsibility on Trial

"PROTECTIVE" committees have been formed to represent the holders of the irrigation bonds that have been described. The tasks before these committees are to reorgan-

ize the companies referred to, and to convert potential values into real. They must put the water on the lands. When water is furnished to the settlers, life will be given to the contract liens, deposited as security for the bonds—the companies' only source of income, from which to meet their obligations, both principal and interest. To do this will take time and a good deal of money. Bondholders must necessarily be patient.

All of this is to admit frankly that the picture is not without its shadows. The source of the lights is in the hope which may not unreasonably be entertained that bankers and protective committees will leave nothing undone to justify the trust which these investors have placed in them.

Reputations are at stake. And so is investment confidence. Much attention has recently been given by the popular press to the question: "Where shall the responsibility for improvident financing be placed?" The cases in point afford excellent opportunities to demonstrate how much banking responsibility may mean to the small investor.

Wanted: Employment for Small Savings

WHAT to do with a little savings fund of a few hundred dollars, is a question which is being asked with increasing frequency by people all over the country.

Time was when the answer, "Put it in a savings bank," would have settled the question in nine cases out of ten. But nowadays many people are less inclined to act upon such advice. Not that they distrust the banks—they are merely engaged in what some one has called "an incipient revolt" against the three and four per cent. interest paid to depositors by the average savings institution.

Whenever a critic finds himself dealing with a prospective investor who feels that he has been "hit" by the much mooted cost of living, and who—as one recently wrote to this department—is "more inclined to take a chance for better yield than formerly," he is compelled to seek an alternative.

The pity is that the range of choice in investments suitable for such people is so narrow. He who undertakes the selection of something to meet the peculiar requirements of these cases, first turns instinctively to high-grade standard bonds. But this field is practically closed to him, and all because the "captains of industry," the managers of the great industries upon which most of the soundest securities are based, have failed to

recognize how important is the aggregate borrowing power controlled by those to whom American financiers are sometimes wont to refer, more or less contemptuously, as "the little people."

There is a growing interest in this question among investment bankers. Those who have already studied it have reached the conclusion that it is little more than mere habit which is responsible for the continuance of the practice of creating securities in such form as to make them available only for the person whose savings accumulations are large. A banker whose business is in the Middle West recently said to the writer:

We have decided that, in future purchases of new bond issues, we shall insist upon *a certain proportion of each being made in small denominations*. If more distributors would take this attitude, we should soon be getting our supply of "small" bonds from the big syndicates themselves.

Reforming the "Curb"

NEW YORK'S "outside" market is about to undergo another reform. Its picturesque crowd of brokers, who make it their business to trade in miscellaneous "securities," now propose to adopt a formal constitution. From the point of view of the public, the most important feature of this document will be that which makes provision for more careful inquiry into the character of the stocks and bonds which are dealt in. Any extension of the endeavors already begun to render more difficult the public distribution of worthless paper, will be welcomed throughout the country.

Types of Popular Investments

SEARCH for means to employ prudently the savings of one who has accumulated only a few hundreds, painstaking though it has to be under existing conditions, need not necessarily be fruitless. There are some good railroad and industrial, and not a few municipal and public service corporation bonds to be had in denominations as low as \$100. Many of

them sell at prices to yield between 4 and 5 per cent. They are the most suitable for the average investor who is dissatisfied with the returns on a savings bank deposit. They offer more nearly the same degree of safety.

But there may be special circumstances operating to take one into the field of still higher income-bearing securities. If so, the demand will perhaps be more easily met, even though the care of selection must needs be greater.

Securities based upon improved real estate are being rapidly popularized. These differ widely in their fundamental characteristics, and in investment merits, but as a class they are gaining a sure and important position. They may be recommended in cases where they are to be purchased from "specialists" of long experience and good repute. Here the range of yield is between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 6 per cent.

More recently much of the cream of the business originating with investors of moderate means appears to have been secured by those who have offered small issues of industrial preferred stocks with an average yield of 7 per cent. There are excellent investments of this type. Among the best of the newer ones are several of long-established concerns, so issued as either to constitute a permanent prior charge on earnings or to give to a majority of their owners the right to say what charges may be set up in the future. But those of untrained judgment should scarcely trust themselves in making definite selection of shares, however excellent they may be as a class.

Security dealers with careers long and distinguished enough to have constituted them "investment bankers" in that difficult specialty of industrial stocks are, in the nature of the case, scarce outside the larger cities. Fortunately, however, with the successful development of banking by mail, the advice of these bankers has been placed at the disposal of the investor, wherever he may be situated. It is upon such advice that he ought to place the most dependence.



THE AMERICANISM OF ROBERT HERRICK

BY EDWIN BJÖRKMAN

THERE are some writers, with numerous volumes to their credit, whose art may easily be summarized in a few lines. Robert Herrick is not one of them. And yet he cannot be called versatile in the accepted sense. From first to last, his writings seem to follow certain clearly defined lines, both in form and thought and spirit. Though now and then venturing into the realm of verse, he is above all a writer of prose. And though from time to time he puts out charming short stories, the novel is his true field. Moreover, in that field he adheres closely to a manner of relation that had reached perfection even in his earliest books. Nor is it of any use to search his works for sudden changes of opinion or moods contrasting sharply against the prevailing temperamental background. For fifteen years he seems, on the whole, to have been moved by the same spirit, the same outlook upon life, the same conception of its deeper realities, the same intense craving to place the truth uppermost. Not as if he had not changed and grown, but his growth has moved him onward along lines distinctly foreshadowed from the first moment he endeavored to gain the ear of the public.

No, if it be found difficult, as I have found it, to characterize him in a few, quick sentences, the cause of this must be sought in the width of his horizons. To define him concisely is to define the American people itself. For among writers of our own day, living or dead, there is none that to me seems to have deserved more truly to be characterized as "national." And I am not having in mind the wholly subordinate fact that he moves his scene from one end of the country to the other, giving us in the same volume equally faithful pictures of New England and Chicago, of the big city and the depopulated country. He is national for no less reason than the reflection of our entire, vast American panorama on every page, in every sentence, of all his larger works. Like a true artist, he is always working in terms of individual life—placing before us a gallery of real men and women such as perhaps no other American writer and few foreign ones can be credited with—but in what happens to those individuals we find mirrored what is at the same time happening to the nation in its entirety. Strikes, panics, country-wide unrests, "booms" that reach from ocean to ocean—these are present everywhere not only as painted backgrounds, hanging flatly and stiffly behind the moving creatures in the foreground, but as vital factors, affecting intimately the daily lives of the simplest and humblest.

This being so, one might expect to find Herrick widely read and highly praised. But such is far from the case. None of his books can be said to have met with a truly popular success. And among the critics he has gained his just dues from only a few discerning spirits like William Dean Howells, Frederick Taber Cooper, and Francis Hackett. Again an explanation seems hard to

find—and again I venture to offer one that has occurred to me. All of Herrick's novels show plenty of "action," even when that word is applied in the narrower sense which makes movement almost synonymous with violence. His men and women live and love, fight and strive, suffer and rejoice. The sex note—so long predominant in all poetry—is heard from one cover to another in all his books. Business, nowadays the "theme" to which writers in fashion turn with increasing absorption, is treated with an insistency and insight such as perhaps none but Balzac has ever before bestowed on it. But for all this—and here comes my explanation—the real happenings of each story lie within the dim confines of human souls. Herrick's novels are, at bottom, psychological—physical movements have value only in so far as they render visible the subtle movements of the spirit within. And to an understanding of this deeper aspect of life the general reading public of our land has not yet arrived, I fear. On the other hand, there are signs a-plenty to indicate that such an understanding is now spreading rapidly, and herein I find the safest promise of a coming national recognition of Herrick's art.

He is still a young man, this writer who deals so audaciously with the secret powers that force and hem not only our public but our private existences. Born in 1868 at Cambridge, Mass., he has spent almost all his life in the shadow of some great institution of learning. A graduate of Harvard in the class of '90, he taught first in his own university and then at Chicago, where he has been professor of English since 1893. Now and then it has been hinted that his art took both the best and largest share of his time and energy. But I doubt that such is the case. If my information be correct, as I think, Professor Herrick has the deepest respect and affection for his original profession, and he stays on not merely to draw a salary but because of his devotion to the teacher's mission and his faith in his own ability to fill it. That he exerts a mighty influence over the students who come in contact with him is a well-known fact.

Having always held that the author's private life tends rather to obscure than to shed light on his writings, Professor Herrick has kept his own personality so scrupulously in the background that hardly an item of the usual silly gossip has found its way into print. What little has become known of his private existence outside of his immediate circle seems to show him capable of rising above his own idiosyncrasies to full and clear understanding of currents with which he has no inherent sympathy. He knows and loves every form of art, and some of the stories told about him indicate an almost uncanny sensitiveness to formal perfection. Yet every one of his books may be regarded as a plea for an "ethical" rather than "esthetical" conception both of life and of art.

Up to the present time he has published twelve volumes in all. As I have found no trace of any

complete bibliography, I shall give a chronological list of these volumes, leaving aside his verse and those short stories that have not been republished in book form:

"Literary Love-letters" (stories), 1897; "The Man Who Wins" (novel), 1897; "Love's Dilemma" (stories), 1898; "The Gospel of Freedom" (novel), 1898; "The Web of Life" (novel), 1900; "Jock o' Dreams, or the Real World" (novel), 1901; "Their Child" (novelette) 1903; "The Common Lot" (novel) 1904; "The Memoirs of an American Citizen" (novel), 1905; "Together" (novel), 1908; "The Master of the Inn" (story), 1908; "A Life for a Life" (novel), 1910.¹

Beginning with "The Gospel of Freedom," each one of his novels would richly deserve a detailed analysis such as cannot come in question here. I have already referred to the dominant note of "nationalism," as opposed to our all too frequent and often all too futile "localism," that runs through them all. Another note not less prevalent may be described as "social" and juxtaposed to that overweening demand for individual expression which ran rampant through most of the literature rooting in the past century. This is the more surprising as Professor Herrick himself seems at heart to be strongly individualistic both in his sympathies and his proclivities. Nothing but true insight can account for this conquest of innate tendencies—an insight that finds one of its most striking formulations in a sentence from "The Web of Life," where Herrick says that: "In striving restlessly to get plunder and power and joy, men weave the mysterious web of life for ends no human mind can know."

¹ The first two volumes were published by Scribner's, the third by Herbert S. Stone & Co. (Chicago) and all the rest by the Macmillan Company.

There is here also a distinct touch of mysticism that stands in sharp contrast with the realistic means generally employed by the author. And as we go on from novel to novel, we find this element more and more tangible, though never permitted to intrude itself to an extent that might obscure the everyday clearness of events and characters. Even Van Harrington, the man who began his career in the prisoner's pen of a Chicago police

court and whom we are permitted to follow to the very doors of the United States Senate, writes of his own experience: "All my life has been given to practical facts, yet I know that at the end of all things there are no facts." In "A Life for a Life," at last, this suggestion of vague, deep-lying realities, too subtle for clear formulation, swells into orchestral power, so that the whole work is colored by it and becomes intelligible only in so far as our own souls are open to its appeal. This latest novel of Professor Herrick's has left the naturalistic starting point and stands squarely on that advanced ground which has been cleared by such men as Ibsen, Maeterlinck and the Russian writers of the last fifty years. It is an immense allegory, but not of the kind that Bunyan gave us. Rather there is a kinship with that Greek sculpture which distilled the all-human out of the

fleeting humanity of the moment. Yet this art, which makes so strongly for the typical, is impressionistic at the same time, abandoning no whit of what the nineteenth century gained along these lines and insisting sharply on the uniqueness of the individual moment. It is in this combination of apparently opposed qualities that I seek the determining characteristic of the poetry that is to come, and it is because I discover just that combination in Herrick's later work that I expect him to give us what we have not yet—an American "Comédie Humaine."



ROBERT HERRICK, WRITER OF "NATIONAL" NOVELS



THE NEW BOOKS

BIOGRAPHY

IT has been said that one of the ironies of the history of philosophy is the fact that Friedrich Nietzsche, the "high poet and calamitous philosopher," must be judged "in the serene atmosphere of history which he infinitely despised." A clear, impartial study of the life of Nietzsche, which appeared some years ago from the pen of the Frenchman, Daniel Halévy, has now been translated into English.¹ In this volume we get not only the philosopher but the man,—a sort of personal acquaintance with that extraordinary being who died comparatively unknown only a decade ago and yet who has, in that short time, become (as he himself predicted) one of the great European reputations of the nineteenth century. The present volume (translated by J. M. Hone) has an appreciative introduction by T. M. Kettle.

A new life of Oliver Goldsmith,² by Frank Frankfort Moore, has for an introduction the happily phrased remarks of Boswell, Dr. Johnson's biographer, on the author of "The Deserted Village." Boswell, it will be remembered, called Goldsmith "the Benjamin of the large family of eighteenth century poets, of whom Dryden was the Jacob and Pope the Judah." All Englishmen, to quote further from Boswell's words written at the time, "venerate Dryden, admire Pope, esteem Young, quote Gray, neglect Thomson, ignore Johnson, tolerate Cowper, and love Goldsmith." The literature of Goldsmithiana is increasing every year. The present volume is ample enough in the number of pages and sufficiently full in personal description and references to make it a welcome addition to the already large list.

A very sympathetic study of the life of one of the most sympathetic characters of all French history, Lafayette, comes to us under the title "The Household of the Lafayettes,"³ by Edith Sichel. The family of the Lafayettes, this illuminating biographer tells us, belong to the small company, so little known, of "holy-minded men and women who irradiate the last years of the old order in France." A study of the aristocratic world at Paris in the second half of the eighteenth century shows many winsome and great-souled personalities, as well as perhaps a greater number of the sordid, cruel, and corrupt kind. Miss Sichel makes the Lafayette family stand for the very best and noblest in the old régime of France, which tried "vainly to stem the tide of revolution by calling a recreant aristocracy to set its house in order."

SOCIOLOGY: ECONOMICS

Through its publications, as well as its other activities, the Russell Sage Foundation is doing much to stimulate and direct the saner forms of charitable effort. A series of four volumes⁴ devoted to the general subject of correction and prevention was prepared for the Eighth International

Prison Congress, held in Washington last October. Prof. Charles Richmond Henderson, of the University of Chicago, is the responsible editor of the series. The first volume is devoted to a survey of prison reform by the editor and to an essay on "Criminal Law in the United States" by President Eugene Smith of the Prison Association of New York. In the second volume "Penal and Reformatory Institutions" are considered by sixteen leading authorities. Dr. Henderson treats in the third volume of "Preventive Agencies and Methods," and a special volume on the "Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children" is contributed by Dr. Hastings H. Hart, of the Sage Foundation, assisted by various specialists who write on special topics. The extremely practical bearing of the work now being conducted by the Sage Foundation is illustrated by the attention that it has given to the new use of concrete as a building material. The frontispiece of Dr. Hart's volume is a photograph of an up-to-date children's cottage built of concrete and provided with outdoor sleeping porches.

Prof. Charles Zueblin, formerly of the University of Chicago, author of "The Religion of a Democrat," has just brought out a new volume of essays which he has entitled "Democracy and the Overman."⁵ In his trenchant, at times bitter, style, Professor Zueblin pays his compliments to the "overspecialized" business man, the "overestimated" Anglo-Saxon, the "overcomplacent" American, the "overthrown superstition" of sex, the "overdue wages of the overman's wife," the "overtaxed credulity" of newspaper readers, the "overworked political platitudes," and the "overlooked charters" of cities.

Miss Emma Goldman, who has been characterized as "the most notorious, insistent, rebellious, and enigmatical person in the United States of America," has just published her first book. This volume, entitled "Anarchism and Other Essays,"⁶ sets forth her point of view on anarchism in general, prisons, patriotism, puritanism, woman, marriage and love, and the drama. These essays, written in a clear, lucid, and very often fascinating style, set forth in the main the philosophy of anarchism. There is an introduction to the book, consisting of a biographical sketch of Miss Goldman, by Hippolyte Havel. Miss Goldman's point of view on the violence usually attributed to the influence of anarchistic ideas is interesting, because honest. "If you press down humanity far enough," she contends, "some one will rise up and strike." While not committing any act of violence herself, she refuses to condemn such an act. "I do not approve it or condemn it. It is like an act of nature, beyond our praise or our condemnation."

Railroad rate-making is a matter involving so many technicalities and intricacies that it can receive no adequate or satisfactory treatment except at the hands of practical railroad men. This fact has been clearly recognized by Dr. Emory R. Johnson and Dr. Grover G. Huebner, of the University of Pennsylvania, who have written

⁵ Democracy and the Overman. By Charles Zueblin. New York: B. W. Huebsch. 217 pp. \$1.

⁶ Anarchism and Other Essays. By Emma Goldman. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association. 277 pp., por. \$1.

¹ The Life of Friedrich Nietzsche. By Daniel Halévy. Macmillan. 368 pp. \$2.50.

² The Life of Oliver Goldsmith. By F. Frankfort Moore. Dutton. 492 pp., por. \$3.50.

³ The Household of the Lafayettes. By Edith Sichel. Dutton. 354 pp., por. \$2.

⁴ Correction and Prevention. Edited by Charles Richmond Henderson. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Publication Committee. 4 vols., 1322 pp., ill. \$10.

a two-volume work on "Railroad Traffic and Rates"¹ for the purpose of providing railroad men and students of transportation problems with information regarding the detailed work of those who have to do with railroad traffic and rate-making. In this work the authors have utilized a great amount of information, advice, and criticism contributed by railroad men the world over. Much of the material has been obtained not from printed sources only, but through the medium of correspondence. Thus a larger proportion of the data used has never before appeared in print. The first volume deals with the freight service and the second with the passenger, express, and mail services.

In this country we have been in the habit of assuming that public ownership of telephones is virtually impossible. Whether our general policy in this regard shall ever be changed or not, it is at least important that we should know something about the experience of other countries with the telephone monopoly. Dr. A. N. Holcombe, of Harvard University, has spent two years in Europe trying to find out just how the telephone business has been managed in those countries where it is under public authority. He has written a book² of nearly 500 pages setting forth the facts that he has discovered and attempting, in the conclusion, to interpret the significance of European experience for the American reader. Far from advocating any particular policy for adoption in the United States, Dr. Holcombe sets forth the results of European experience in public management and leaves the reader to form his own opinion of the relative value of such experience.

A striking work of social interest on the borderland between fact and fiction is the account of how one William Carleton (evidently a pen name), "a middle class New Englander, emigrated to America." "One Way Out"³ is the way he entitles his narrative. At thirty-eight this man lost his position in the office of a large corporation. He was then "too old" to get another. He and his wife and boy decided to do the daring, original thing of leaving their little suburban home and "emigrate" to America. How they went about this and how they succeeded are vividly and graphically told in nineteen chapters that shed considerable illumination on the present problem of the cost of living.

POLITICS

The addresses delivered by ex-President Roosevelt in August and September of last year, during a journey of over 5000 miles through fourteen States, have been collected in a little volume entitled "The New Nationalism,"⁴ prefaced with an introduction by Ernest Hamlin Abbott. As the conclusion of the volume an *Outlook* editorial by Dr. Lyman Abbott is reprinted for the sake of providing a sort of historical summary of the subject.

Twelve lectures by Dr. Lyman Abbott on "The Spirit of Democracy" are included in the little volume bearing this title.⁵ Some of the chapter headings are "Present Conditions in Industry,"

"Political Socialism," "The Tendency of Democracy," "The Home, the Church, the School," and "Who Should Govern?"

SCIENCE

The position occupied in the world of modern philosophic thought by Prof. Wilhelm Ostwald commands the respectful attention of the entire modern world of scientific and philosophic thought. Professor Ostwald, who won the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1909, was professor of physical chemistry at the University of Leipsic for thirty years. He was exchange professor at Harvard in 1905. His work, "Natural Philosophy,"⁶ the first to give a résumé of modern natural philosophy as opposed to the old academic systems, attempts to present a brief survey of all the sciences and to provide "a complete synthesis of the results of the specialization of the last half-century." The translation from the German (with the author's special revision for the American edition) has been made by Thomas Seltzer.

WORKS OF REFERENCE

"The American Year Book"⁷ marks a distinct advance in the method of compiling statistical annuals. All works of this class, to have value for purposes of reference, must be made up of contributions from many sources. It is something to have the vast field of knowledge marked off and subdivided and each of the subdivisions put in the charge of a responsible specialist to whom matters in dispute may be referred. Such an arrangement has been perfected in the organization of the new "Year Book's" editorial staff, which is really a supervisory board made up of official representatives and members of thirty-two national learned and technical societies, headed by an executive committee under the chairmanship of Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard, while Dr. S. N. D. North, former Director of the Census, has served as managing editor. The result of this cooperation is a compact volume of 850 closely printed pages, resembling in general form and style the well-known "Statesman's Year Book" of Great Britain, but differing from that publication in the nature and scope of its subject matter. The American annual gives a smaller proportion of space to tabulated statistics than its London contemporary, but it makes up for this deficiency (if it is a deficiency) by supplying authoritative summaries of progress in the various departments of science. The work is broader than a handbook of government and deals with more of the essential facts of contemporary history.

A useful reference book on the China of 1911 has been brought out by the *National Review* of Shanghai. It is entitled "The Provinces of China," and consists of a mass of statistical and other data about the administrative and economic condition of the Celestial Empire at the present day. The figures of population, industry, government, and general social conditions are presented in easily accessible form. The book is not sold generally but presented to the subscribers to the *National Review*.

The sixty-third annual issue of the English "Who's Who"⁸—the edition for 1911—which has just made its welcome appearance, contains 2246

¹ Railroad Traffic and Rates. By Emory R. Johnson and Grover G. Huebner. D. Appleton & Co. 2 vols. 970 pp., ill. \$5.

² Public Ownership of Telephones on the Continent of Europe. By A. N. Holcombe. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 482 pp. \$2.

³ One Way Out. By William Carleton. Small, Maynard and Company. 303 pp. \$1.20.

⁴ The New Nationalism. By Theodore Roosevelt. Baker & Taylor Co. 268 pp. \$1.50.

⁵ The Spirit of Democracy. By Lyman Abbott. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 215 pp. \$1.25.

⁶ Natural Philosophy. By Wilhelm Ostwald. Holt. 193 pp. \$1.

⁷ The American Year Book. Edited by S. N. D. North. D. Appleton & Co. 867 pp. \$3.50.

⁸ Who's Who, 1911. Macmillan Company. 2246 pp. \$2.50.

pages. This biographical dictionary, as we have had occasion to remark many times before, is one of the very few absolutely indispensable reference books.

The first volume of a "Cyclopedia of Education"¹ has just come from the Macmillan press. The editor of this work, strangely enough the first of its scope in the English language, is Professor Paul Monroe of the Teachers' College, Columbia University. In the work of preparation he had the assistance of fifteen departmental editors and more than 1000 individual contributors. The aim of the editorial staff has been to include in these volumes a concise discussion of all topics of im-

portance and interest to the teacher, and to give such information concerning educational practice as is essential to a book of reference. Completeness of scope has been sought rather than completeness of treatment. Many of the leading educational specialists of this and other lands have coöperated in producing this great work, not merely for the sake of making a useful work of reference, but in the hope that by standardizing and organizing a great mass of information that has heretofore remained unsystematized something may be contributed to the solution of educational problems. It would seem that a cyclopedia of this kind affording direct aid to those engaged in educational work must necessarily assist materially in unifying educational thought and practice.

¹ A Cyclopedia of Education. Edited by Paul Monroe. Macmillan. 654 pp., ill. Vol. I. \$5.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

A Short History of Women's Rights. By Eugene A. Hecker. Putnam.

African and European Addresses by Theodore Roosevelt. Putnam.

American House Building in Messina and Reggio. By Reginald Rowan Belknap. Putnam.

An Eastern Voyage. By Count Fritz von Hochberg. 2 vols. Dutton.

Behind the Screens in Japan. By Evelyn Adam. Putnam.

Embers (Lyrics). By Maurine Hathaway. Minneapolis: George W. Parker Art Company.

Fighting with Fremont. By Everett McNeil. Dutton.

Fundamentals in Education, Art, and Civics. By George Lansing Raymond. Funk & Wagnalls.

Gold Production and Future Prices. By Harrison H. Brace. New York: Bankers Publishing Company.

Guide to Reading in Social Ethics and Allied Subjects. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University.

Howard Taylor Ricketts and His Work in Combating Typhoid Fever (Spanish). Mexico: Tip. de la Vda. De F. Diaz de Leon, Sucs.

Industrial Accidents and Their Compensation. By Gilbert L. Campbell. Houghton, Mifflin.

Introduction to Political Science. By Raymond Garfield Gettell. Ginn & Co.

Life of Charles Sumner. By Walter G. Shotwell. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

Life of Hiram Paulding. By Rebecca Paulding Meade. Baker & Taylor.

Magicians' Tricks: How They Are Done. By Henry Hatton and Adrian Plate. Century.

Mother Love. By August Strindberg. Philadelphia: Brown Brothers.

The Creditor: A Tragic Comedy. By August Strindberg. Philadelphia: Brown Brothers.

Open Air Crusaders. Report of the Elizabeth McCormick Open Air School. Edited by Sherman C. Kingsley. Chicago: United Charities.

Orchids for Everyone. By C. H. Curtis, F.R.H.S. Dutton.

Presidential Addresses and State Papers of William Howard Taft. Doubleday, Page & Co.

Report of the Commissioner of Education (1910), Vol. I. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Social Adjustment. By Scott Nearing. Macmillan.

Steamships and Their Story. By E. Keble Chatterton. Cassell & Co.

Territorial Governments of the Old Northwest. By Dwight G. McCarty. Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa.

The Cradle of the Deep: An Account of a Voyage to the West Indies. By Sir Frederick Treves. Dutton.

The Essentials of Character. By Edward O. Sisson. Macmillan.

The Fate of Henry of Navarre. By John Bloundelle-Burton. John Lane Company.

The Fruits of the Tree. By William Jennings Bryan. Fleming H. Revell Company.

The High Court of Parliament and Its Supremacy. By Charles Howard McIlwain. New Haven: Yale University Press.

The Pianoforte and Its Music. By Henry Edward Krehbiel. Scribners.

The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney. Edited by John Drinkwater. Dutton.

The Poems of Sophie Jewett. Edited by Louise R. Jewett. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

The Political Development of Japan. By George E. Uyebara. Dutton.

The Stone Age in North America. By Warren K. Moorehead. 2 vols. Houghton, Mifflin.

We of the Never Never. By Mrs. Aeneas Gunn. Macmillan.

William Blake. By G. K. Chesterton. Dutton.

World Corporation. By King C. Gillette. Boston: New England News Company.

